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ABSTRACT

Designed for elementary, secondary, and post-secondary classrooms and community use during the week of November 11-15, 1985--the week before the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit meetings in Geneva, Switzerland--these lesson plans and units accomplish two goals: (1) to inform young people and adults and raise the level of understanding around specific issues of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit; and (2) to encourage teachers, students, and adults to develop a new process for talking about the critical issues of our time. With emphasis on problem-solving and conflict resolution, the packet is organized into eight sections. Following an introduction, sections 2 and 3 provide activities for all ages and conflict-resolution activities for students in grades 1-6. Section 4 provides activities for students in grades 7-12, including a brief history of summits and summitry, questions for discussion, lessons for organizing a mock summit meeting in the classroom, an activity involving a closer look at arms control issues, activities accompanying newspaper articles by Richard Nixon and James Reston, and a unit on the USSR. The next sections provide a college/university approach and annotated bibliography on nuclear issues, activities for professional development and community education, follow-up resources, and special follow-up activities. (LH)

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FINDING COMMON GROUND:
DAYS OF DIALOGUE TEACHING MATERIALS.
TEACHING FOR THE SUMMIT AND BEYOND.

SUSAN ALEXANDER, EDITOR

Educators for Social Responsibility
23 Garden Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

1985

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FINDING COMMON GROUND: DAYS OF DIALOGUE TEACHING MATERIALS

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EVALUATION FORM

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

Name _____ School _____
Address _____ Grade Level _____
State/Zip _____ Subject Area _____
Phone _____ Are you an ESR member? _____
ESR Chapter? _____

1) Length of Days of Dialogue activity:

_____ one class _____ one day _____ three days _____ one week _____ other

2) Which lesson plans / activities / suggestions in this Curriculum Packet did you use in class?

3) a) What did you find most helpful about the Curriculum Packet?

b) Least helpful?

4) How would you assess the effectiveness of the Curriculum Packet?

1	2	3	4	5
poor				excellent

5) What suggestions do you have for improvement of the Curriculum Packet on the theme "Finding Common Ground?"

6) What follow-up are you planning? How can National ESR help?

8) ESR will be planning a national Days of Dialogue program yearly. Do you have any suggestions for future programs, themes, or content?

9) What other topical mini-curricula units would you like to see ESR develop in the future?

I. Finding Common Ground: An Introduction

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

The following lesson plans and units on "Finding Common Ground: Teaching for the Summit and Beyond" have been designed or adapted for use during Educators for Social Responsibility's program **Days of Dialogue, 1985**. This program will take place in elementary, middle, secondary, and post-secondary classrooms and in communities during the week of November 11 - 15, the week before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Geneva, Switzerland.

1. AN INFORMED PUBLIC

These curricula have two goals. First, they are designed to inform young people and adults and raise the level of understanding around the specific issues of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. This meeting occurs at a critical moment in history. It demands a public fully informed about the issues, lucid about what is at stake in an arms race without arms control, involved in carefully following the issues, and actively communicating to its leaders its concerns and views about policy.

However, in order for the public to be informed and to remain engaged in the outcome of these issues, it needs to feel welcomed into the dialogue. The adversarial ways in which public policy is usually discussed and in which countries traditionally deal with each other do not encourage this participation. Conventional discussions of policy demand that one take a stand. Through these materials ESR is inviting the public to become informed participants on the basis of a new process - **dialogue**.

2. DIALOGUE

The second goal of these teaching materials is to encourage teachers, students, and adults to develop a new process for talking about the crucial issues of our time. ESR calls this process **dialogue**. Skills in dialogue lead to more effective communication.

Dialogue is pertinent in many different academic disciplines and forums in advance of, during, and after the summit meeting. Whenever teachers want to help their students develop better skills for understanding and working with people of different views and backgrounds, they can use these curricula in their classroom. Whenever adults are seeking ways to transcend adversarial approaches to problem-solving, so often resulting in stalemate, they can use these materials

in community programs, religious groups, PTA meetings, and in-service training workshops.

One especially significant skill in problem-solving and conflict resolution is **listening for common ground** - consciously, deliberately - rather than engaging in adversarial, polarized debate. ESR believes that to bring about a more secure, peaceful, and just future in the nuclear age, both we and the next generation will need both better skills and a new process for pursuing common interests - such as reverence for life and belief in democracy - and common values, such as community, with people of different persuasions.

A requisite for successful negotiation is agreement in some area. But possibilities for agreement often go unnoticed. Why? Because most of us are educated to "win," and winning requires that we focus on differences and disagreements, rather than on common ground. Even in the best educational forums, traditional adversarial debates are encouraged.

A fundamental premise of ESR's methodology is active listening. A first step in the search for common ground is the ability to understand how other people view issues and the life experiences from which that view may arise. Listening actively helps us to empathize with another point of view. You will note that several lesson plans address this process.

Another step in discovering common ground is finding ways to work with people we disagree with, even those with whom we may have irreconcilable and intractable differences. While it is important not to lose sight of disagreements based on deeply held convictions, important problems remain unsolved - and indeed worsen - unless people with diverse viewpoints are able to work together in a "center." One need only think of the Arabs and Israelis as well as the Soviets and Americans to understand the need for such abilities.

ESR is excited about the opportunity to contribute to more productive ways of exploring key questions about alternative ways of resolving conflict, the arms race, US-Soviet relations, and related issues. We urge you to join us in the search for understanding through genuine dialogue about how we can create a more secure and hopeful future.

Susan Alexander
Editor

II. Activities for All Ages

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

COMPOSITION: ENLARGING UNDERSTANDING

Level: Elementary - Adult

Objectives: To empathize with another person's viewpoint (this is a first step in enlarging understanding, improving communication skills, and ultimately resolving disagreements and conflicts more effectively and without violence.)

Time period: One class period.

Suggested Activities:

Students write about a conflict they have had, describing it from the other person's point of view. This exercise works best when it is written in the first person.

There are usually many students who will volunteer to read aloud their papers. After this, discussion can center on why the class thinks it might be important to engage in this exercise. Some teachers may prefer to have this discussion before students write.

FILM: *IS IT ALWAYS RIGHT TO BE RIGHT?

Churchill Films, 62 N. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90069.

Level: Elementary - Adult. At the elementary level, we suggest showing this film to the entire group and then breaking the class into small groups for reaction and discussion.

Time required: One class period.

Materials: Film Projector

Advance Preparation: Preview the film.

Objectives. Students will:

- gain an appreciation for their own and others' feelings in arguments
- learn constructive techniques for discussion

Summary of film:

It is an eight-minute parable, narrated by Orson Welles, that highlights centers of divisiveness in our society—generation gaps, war, poverty, and race. It introduces the concept that it takes courage to admit that one is unsure or may be wrong. Because the search for truth is neverending, placing blame for a problem on another group is only a stop-gap method of solving the problem.

Discussion:

1. Have you ever heard, or yourself expressed, any of the ideas presented in this film?
2. How do you feel and act when you talk with people whose views differ radically from yours?
3. What other feelings might people have in such situations?
4. What are some useful "do's" and "don'ts" to change an argument into a dialogue? (See accompanying chart for some suggestions.)
5. What are some techniques to express oneself more positively and to listen more supportively?
6. Why is it hard for people to say, "I may be wrong."

Activities:

1. Students might find it helpful to role play a variety of conflict situations, using some of the techniques they generated in their list of do's and don'ts.
2. Using this same list, students might practice alternating between "dialoguing" and "arguing" a given topic; or they may try to analyze which rules for dialogue are hardest to keep.
3. **Elementary School:** Create a web of the word "conflict" and use the brainstorming technique (see accompanying conflict web).

INTERVIEW ON CONFLICT EXPERIENCES

From ESR's curriculum Dialogue: A Teaching Guide to Nuclear Issues

Level: Elementary - Adult

Time required: One hour

Materials: None

Advance Preparation: None

Lesson.

Pair off in order to interview each other about conflict experiences. As preparation, brainstorm possible questions that can ask each other, such as:

- What do you argue or fight about most often?
- With whom do you argue or fight most often?
- How do most of your arguments start?
- How do they most often end?
- Do you fight more often with people of your own sex or the opposite sex? Why do you think this is so?
- How have your conflict situations changed as you have gotten older?
- Are there ways of fighting or arguing so that no one (including yourself) gets hurt in the end?



Sample List:

Arguments

Loud, angry, harsh tone

Interrupting

Changing the subject, using
phony issues

Insults, put-downs, sarcasms

Exaggeration

Pushy or threatening body
language

Talking fast, rushing

Thinking only of your next
point instead of listening

Faking it, if you don't know
something, never admitting the
other person has a good point.

The aim is to win.

Dialogues

Quiet, calm, even tone

Letting the other person
finish a point before
you begin to speak.

Sticking to each point
until you've worked it
through.

Treating the other
person with respect

Using careful, exact
words

Using calm face and hand
motions

Taking time

Listening carefully and
considering the other's
views; being able to re-
others' views accurately

Saying "I don't know,"
if you don't. Agreeing
with the other person's
good points.

The aim is to have a
fair and complete dialogue.

*This lesson plan is adapted from ESR's curriculum Dialogue: A
Teaching Guide to Nuclear Issues.

III. Activities for Elementary Students (Grades 1-6)

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

(This introduction to conflict resolution has been adapted from ESR's curriculum Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace and Creative Conflict Resolution by William Kreidler. The following four Lesson plans - "Reflective Listening," "Negotiation," "Analysis Check List," and "Eyewitness," are from Perspectives. See RESOURCES section.)

Level: Elementary

Objectives: Students will:

- begin to understand the nature of conflict.
- examine behavior and attitudes that contribute to classroom conflict.
- explore acceptable ideas and skills for managing conflict
- improve communication skills.
- practice looking at situations from various perspectives.
- better understand the concept of common ground.
- better understand "win-win" conflict resolution.
- learn to take active roles in the resolution of conflicts
- practice cooperation, respect, and tolerance of diversity.
- expand self-knowledge and feelings of self-worth
- appreciate that conflict and controversy are inevitable realities of life.
- understand that there are important and positive by-products of conflict.

Definition.

At the elementary level conflict resolution is the creative response to conflict in the context of a supportive, caring community. Conflict involving more than one person is almost certain to occur with predictable regularity. With varying degrees of deliberateness and skill, whenever we make the simplest decisions, we are resolving a conflict at some level. Whenever we conduct more formal arbitration between parties with divergent points of view, we are resolving a conflict.

Conflict Resolution Goal: A Harmonious Classroom.

The goal of conflict resolution is a peaceful community, an atmosphere of warmth, caring, and creativity. It provides a supportive atmosphere for productive and effective accomplishment.

For a classroom to be a peaceful community, there are five qualities that must be present: cooperation, communication,

tolerance, the constructive expression of feelings, and skills in conflict resolution.

Introduction To Activities.

Conflict is a part of every child's life. In the elementary grades, children are easily engaged in talking about conflicts and fights that occur among their own friends and classmates, and in their own families. As a subject, conflict resolution is one that most children find absorbing. However, elementary students are most interested in the subject of conflict when it relates to their own lives. Their concrete experiences in the classroom is the material around which to start.

The relationship between personal and global conflict is an abstract one. Conflict at an international level is too abstract for students at this age to handle, at least initially. It has been our experience, though, that once elementary students have an understanding of how conflict and conflict resolution work at an interpersonal level, they can begin to apply that understanding to international conflict.

In his book Creative Conflict Resolution, Kreidler aptly describes the teacher as "peacemaker:" "It's part of the job. Perhaps you and I never thought of ourselves in quite that way, perhaps we're not even sure what it means, but conflicts occur in our classrooms and we are expected to respond to them and to restore peace."

Our role as peacemaker, however, is far from limited to the restoration of order. In the long run, we must develop ways to help children actively become peacemakers themselves. It is to this larger goal that our "conflict resolution" activities must ultimately lead.

The concept of looking for common ground is also an abstract one for elementary students. They tend to view the world, particularly their conflicts, in black and white terms. It is not uncommon for the person who was a best friend ten minutes ago to become a worst enemy during a conflict.

Related to this is the fact that kids often see conflict resolution in win-lose terms. In other words, if one child is to get what he or she wants in a conflict situation, the other child must end up with nothing or next to nothing. From a developmental perspective, it is also very difficult for elementary children to see a situation from another's point of view.

Introduction to The Harmonious Classroom/The Classroom as a Peaceful Community.

In order to establish a harmonious classroom community it is important that we first help children to understand the nature of conflict. We must help them examine their behavior and attitudes to understand how they contribute to classroom conflict. It is also helpful to keep in mind that there are important and positive by-products of conflict: it can prevent stagnation; it can stimulate creative problem-solving; it can be the root of change; and it can be a part of a process of self-assessment. Rather than relying on the teacher as arbitrator, children can learn to take active roles in the resolution of their conflicts and can maintain an awareness of these positive effects.

Conflict Resolution in the Classroom.

Conflict resolution in the classroom is based on the following concepts:

1. Cooperation, respect, and tolerance begin with self-knowledge and a feeling of self-worth.
2. Diversity among people is valued.
3. Conflict is both natural and inevitable.
4. Violence is never the only way of dealing with any conflict.
5. Acceptable methods for managing conflict need exploration in order to support responsible, rational decisions.
6. Schools need to support students in dealing with the reality of conflict and controversy in society.
7. A democracy requires thinking citizens who will not accept easy, ready-made answers to complex problems. It encourages constructive action based on knowledge, critical examination, and social responsibility.
8. Human dignity and human rights are the foundation of a workable society.

Activity 1: REFLECTIVE LISTENING

Level: Elementary

Time required: One class period to introduce and practice the concept. Subsequently, the teacher may decide to incorporate this into many classroom activities.

Materials needed: None.

Advance Teacher Preparation: Optional. If the teacher does not wish to use an actual disagreement or discussion for the reflective listening exercise, s/he can create an imaginary one.
Background.

Among the familiar responses to heated (physical) conflict between children are:

- a. cooling off (separating the participants), which postpones the conflict but does little to resolve it.
- b. mediation, in which each participant's point of view is heard, and an effort is made to seek a resolution.

The latter method is preferable and is enhanced by reflective, or "active," listening.

Definition of Reflective Listening.

Reflective listening is a technique that affords the speaker the opportunity to affirm or correct the listener's perception of what has been said. This activity may be used in either an actual conflict or in a role-playing situation.

(Note: You will note that a more advanced form of this technique forms the basis for the Symposium on Finding Common Ground, explained in the ADULT section.)

Lesson Objective. Students will:

- be able to identify more clearly what other people think and feel.
- be able to identify more with another point of view and another's needs.
- be able to take these two factors into account in solving disagreements more justly and peacefully.

Lesson.

1. Have children practice reflecting back what they hear others saying by the use of such phrases as: "Sounds as though...", "In other words...", "You are saying..." These phrases can be introduced in regular classroom discussions where children take turns sharing their ideas on a topic, especially where there is an affective component to the discussion. Once children become comfortable and familiar with these phrases, they can be applied in any dialogues or discussions in which children are not in complete agreement.
2. When they paraphrase another person's idea, they should be guided to try to reflect the emotional as well as the factual content. The following "formula" is useful for getting the knack of this: "(Sounds as though) you feel _____ because _____." If this seems stilted or unnatural, don't worry. You will find that participants will soon incorporate it and adapt it naturally to their own speech patterns.

Activity 2: NEGOTIATING

(Adapted from ESR's curriculum DIALOGUE, p. 64)

Level: Elementary

Objectives. Students will:

- learn what negotiation is
- learn why negotiation is a valuable way to approach disagreements and resolve conflicts
- learn some of the skills for negotiating

Time required: One or two class periods.

Activities:

1. What is a negotiation? Write "negotiate" on the board and have the class read it aloud, if they can. Ask if anyone knows what it means.

2. Why do we have negotiations? Explain that negotiating is a way of solving problems between people so that everyone can win.
3. How do you negotiate? List the following steps on the board:
 1. Say what you think the problem is.
 2. Say what you want.
 3. Say what the limits are.
 4. Work out an agreement.
 5. Is everyone satisfied?
4. What skills does it take to negotiate? Walk the children through the following situation: Kevin keeps calling David "Fatso" and other names; David breaks Kevin's pencils and crayons.
5. Practice in negotiating. Give children situations from different content areas to use for practice in negotiation. Math and Social Studies are particularly good sources of situations.
6. Discussion:
 - In what kinds of situations might you want to negotiate?
 - How would you ask the other person to negotiate?
 - What if they won't do it?
 - What problems can you see arising during negotiation?
 - How can you tell whether or not a negotiation is successful?

These basic questions can serve as a starting point in elementary school for a discussion of conflict resolution, negotiation, mediation; that is, of finding common ground.

Proceeding from this discussion, teachers might then ask, Is there something we really disagree about in this classroom about which we can negotiate?

Activity 3: ANALYSIS CHECK LIST

Level: Elementary

Time required: One class period.

Materials needed: None.

Advance Teacher Preparation: None.

Lesson Objective. Students will study skills needed to be mediators/problem-solvers/peacemakers.

Lesson:

1. Ask the class, "If you were a mediator or a problem-solver, and you were going to help some of the kids in this class resolve a conflict, what would you need to know before you could resolve it?"

2. List all of the suggestions on the board. Discuss which ones are similar, which don't really supply useful information, and so on. Combine similar ones, and ask children to eliminate ones which don't seem useful, until you have a list of five or so.
3. Arrange the list in order of importance. Label the final list "What We Need to Know to Understand Conflicts." Explain that this list shows the kind of information you need to resolve a conflict.
4. Your checklist might look something like this:
 - Who's involved?
 - What did they do?
 - How did they do it?
 - What does A want? What does B want? What does each need?
 Older elementary students might consider an additional item:
 - Is this a personal conflict or a conflict of values?
5. Discuss the checklist, starting with such questions as:
 - a. How would this information be helpful?
 - b. Why might it be helpful to analyze a conflict in this way?

Activity 4: EYEWITNESS

Level: Elementary

Time required: One class period.

Materials needed: a microphone (real or pretend)
a picture depicting a conflict the children can understand

Advance Teacher Preparation: None.

Lesson Objective: Students will be helped to understand that no two people have exactly the same perception of a situation.

Lesson.

1. Have the children examine the picture for 30 seconds.
2. Ask for volunteers to be interviewed about what they see.
3. Then, with the microphone, ask a child to "tell the TV audience" what was happening the picture. Interview several children.
4. Discuss the differences in different people's accounts.
 - a. How do they account for the different interpretations of the picture?
 - b. Which one is the truth?
 - c. What things do we need to keep in mind in trying to find out the truth?
 - d. How is this exercise like real life?

WIN/WIN RULES; CONFLICT RESOLUTION GUIDELINES
(From Visions of Peace by Lennie Duensing)

Note: This lesson should be used after children have had experience with lessons encouraging them to talk about conflicts they've had with people in their lives.

Level: Elementary

Objectives: Children will:

- redefine conflict and conflict resolution.
- learn that conflict is a normal occurrence in relationships.
- learn the "Win/Win Rules" -- ways that we can solve conflicts peacefully.
- role play conflict resolutions applying "Win/Win Rules."
- gain new understanding of their behavior through role-playing.

Time required: One - three class periods.

Materials needed: Copies of "Win/Win Rules for the students to take home.

Experience chart with "Win/Win Rules."

Advance Teacher Preparation: Win/Win Rules written on an experience chart, each rule in a different color.

WIN/WIN RULES

1. State the facts; the problem in which you are now engaged (e.g., "We both want the same ball.")
2. Do not place them or refer to past situations (e.g., "You always take things away from me!")
3. State your feelings using "I messages." Do not make negative remarks about the other person.
4. Brainstorm solutions. Decide to come up with a solution that satisfies both people -- a win/win solution.
5. Affirm your partner.

Lesson.

Note: Give students some practice with hypothetical situations in general, before using role play as a technique for resolving actual conflicts. These are less threatening than actual conflict situations. (With younger children, teachers may need to modify the activity; younger children often lack the maturity necessary to disassociate themselves from the roles they play.)

1. Ask: Is it O.K. to have conflicts?
Do all people have conflicts at one time or another?
How about adults like your parents and teachers?

Is it possible to solve conflicts without hurting each other through our words or actions?

What is it called when both people feel O.K. at the end of a conflict? At this point, introduce the concept of Win-Win.

2. State: "Today we are going to learn some rules so that we will be able to deal with conflicts in such a way that both partners feel O. K. There is a way to work things out so that no one loses. It is the win/win method."
3. Show the "Win/Win Rules" that will have been written on an experience chart.
4. Ask several students to read one rule at a time.
5. Discuss each rule. Ask what each rule means to the students. Ask if they have ever tried to use any of these before. Did it work? Discuss.
6. Discuss commitment.
 - a. State: "When at least one party in a conflict is absolutely committed to 'working it out,' then it is possible to use the Win/Win Rules successfully."
 - b. Discuss commitment by defining it as a promise one makes to oneself that is kept no matter what. "Often we don't keep our promises when we are challenged too much. Commitment means that you keep your promise no matter what."
 - c. "So, if you have had a conflict with another person, and you're both angry, and then that other person calls you a name, should you stop being committed to working it out?" Discuss.
 - d. "What if the other person isn't committed to working it out? Should you not be committed too?" Discuss. "Who does peace start with?" Discuss.
 - e. Stress that there are times when it is very difficult and lonely to be the only one willing to work it out. Is it worth facing difficulties and sometimes working alone?" Discuss. "Why is it important to keep our promise to be committed to peacemaking?" Stress: Peace starts with the commitment of individuals like ourselves.
7. Conflict Resolution Role Play
 - a. Review the "Win/Win Rules."
 - b. Ask the students if anyone has a real conflict they would like to role play with others in the class.
 - c. Choose a conflict. Have the student describe and name people involved where appropriate. Otherwise assign imaginary names.
 - d. Choose other students to play the different parts. Have the student whose conflict it is quietly and briefly go over the "roles" with his/her partners as the rest of the class continues to discuss their own conflicts. This should be done in another section of the room.
 - e. "Players" go to the center of the circle and act out the conflict as it was, including the way in which it was actually concluded, culminating in mock fighting, if accurate.
 - f. Discuss the feelings of the participants. Discuss why the outcome didn't work. Ask: "Who lost?"
8. Now replay the conflict using the "Win/Win Rules."
 - a. "Talk" the students through each stage, identifying the problem, identifying feelings, using "I messages," brainstorming solutions, choosing a solution, affirming partners.

- b. It is the role of the teacher to "coach" the students each time they role play, using the "Win/Win Rules."
- 9. Discuss the role play when it is finished.
 - a. How could the conflict have been prevented?
 - b. How did the players feel in the situation?
 - c. Was the solution portrayed a satisfactory one?
 - d. What other solutions might have worked?
 - e. What are the advantages to using "Win/Win Rules"?
- 10. Homework: Tell your family the "Win/Win Rules."
 - Hang the rules where everyone in the house can see them.
 - Ask your family if they would commit to using the rules in their next conflict.

NOTE: Those who work with elementary age students are particularly urged to look through the section in this curriculum packet designated as appropriate for all levels, Elementary - Adult, in order to find activities very suitable for young children.

IV. Activities for Secondary Students (Grades 7-12)

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SUMMITS AND SUMMITRY

by John Schultz, Washington DC/ESR and Gary Nicolai, Philadelphia

Level: Middle/High School

Time required: One or two class periods.

Objectives: Students will gain insight into previous relations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

Advance Teacher Preparation:

Duplicate a class set of the background information.

(Optional) In anticipation of this unit, you may wish to have your students collect newspaper and magazine articles or TV reports about U.S.-Soviet relations, in general and about the summit conference, in particular. One especially good recent source, which is readily available, is the TIME special report, 9/9/85, which includes an extensive interview with Gorbachev, as well as discussion of the prospects for the summit conference.

Lesson:

Distribute copies of this background information to students. If they have read the material the previous night as homework, the discussion questions at the end will probably require one class period. If they read the material silently in class on the first day, it is likely that reading and discussing all of the questions will occupy two class periods.

Background and Questions for Discussion

The Next Summit - Reagan and Gorbachev

In November U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev will go to Geneva for the first U.S.-Soviet summit meeting since President Carter met with the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in Vienna in 1979. Since 1979, the Soviets have had three leaders: Yuri Andropov (1982-84), Konstantin Chernenko (1984-85), and since March 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev. At the age of 54, Gorbachev is a younger and seemingly healthier leader than the previous two. When Reagan meets Gorbachev in Geneva, it will be the first meeting between the two men and, indeed, Reagan's first face-to-face contact with a leader of the Soviet Union since he became President in January, 1981.

A summit conference, as the name suggests, is a diplomatic exchange conducted at the highest level — where the heads of state lead the talking and negotiating. The history of summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union begins with the conferences of the leaders of the allied powers during World War II. What follows are brief histories of the most important summit conferences that have included the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union.

***Teheran (1944) - Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill**

The allied leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain discuss military matters, such as the U.S.-British "D-Day" invasion, the future of Germany, and a post-war system for preserving peace.

***Yalta (February, 1945) - Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill**

The next year, the leaders of the three major allies meet in Yalta, a Soviet resort on the Black Sea. With Germany now near defeat, they discuss the shape of post-war Europe and come to some agreement about having free elections in Eastern Europe. They also discuss the situation in the Far East, and Stalin agrees to declare war on Japan within three months of Germany's defeat. Finally, they work out compromises between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that allow both countries to proceed with the work toward a United Nations, which has begun at the earlier Dumbarton Oaks Conference in Washington, D.C. The leaders also decide to hold a United Nations conference in April, 1945 in San Francisco, where the charter for a permanent United Nations is prepared.

The Yalta conference is controversial. Some politicians and historians accuse Roosevelt of "selling out" eastern Europe to communism because free elections in most of the countries were never held. Others say that Roosevelt was only recognizing a legitimate Soviet "sphere of influence" in eastern Europe, and that given the massive presence in that area of the Soviet army in the waning days of the war, the U.S. was powerless to prevent Soviet control of eastern Europe,

***Potsdam (July 1945) - Stalin, Truman, and Attlee**

There are major changes since Yalta: Roosevelt dies on April 12, 1945. Truman becomes President. Germany surrenders on May 8. Churchill and Truman join Stalin at Potsdam, Germany to consider issues relating to the continuing war against Japan. Part way through the conference, Clement Attlee is elected Prime Minister and replaces Churchill at the conference table.

While at Potsdam, Truman is informed of the successful testing of the American atomic bomb in New Mexico. He suggests to Stalin that the U.S. now possesses a weapon with immense destructive capability. However, Truman does not consult with Stalin directly about his decision to use the new weapon against Japan.

Truman and Attlee issue a joint declaration to Japan that unless it surrenders, it will face "utter devastation." Although there is some sentiment within Japan towards surrender, the Japanese respond to the Potsdam Declaration by calling it "unworthy of public notice."

On August 6, 1945 the United States drops the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Japan does not surrender. Two days later, the Soviet Union declares war on Japan and invades Manchuria. On August 9 the U.S. drops a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki.

Japan surrenders officially on September 2, 1945. Most people believe that the dropping of the two atomic bombs caused the Japanese surrender. The dominant view also is that the dropping of the bomb saved the lives of a million American soldiers, who would have died in an invasion of Japan. Some historians, however, regard the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan as the first act of a new war -- the cold war. They claim that the atomic bomb was used as a warning signal to the Soviets to be cautious in two ways. First, the U.S.S.R. had better abide by the Yalta agreements regarding the reorganization of post-war Europe. Second, the U.S. wanted to force a Japanese surrender before the Soviet Union could benefit from its involvement in the war in the Far East. Historians with these views also argue that Japan was close to surrender anyway. They believe that the reason for Japan's eventual surrender was that the U.S. dropped its demand for "unconditional" surrender, which meant that Japan would not have been allowed to keep its emperor.

***Geneva (1955) - Bulganin, Khrushchev, and Eisenhower**

Worsening relations between the two countries since the end of World War II, characterized by continuing mutual fear and mistrust, prevent a meeting of the leaders of the two nations until 1955. By this time, the Korean War is over, and the U.S. has at least partially accepted the pro-Soviet governments in Eastern Europe.

Moreover, the virulent domestic anti-communism, known as McCarthyism, has abated, and Eisenhower, no longer under direct attack for being "soft on communism," can entertain the possibility of a meeting with the new Soviet leaders, Premier N. A. Bulganin and First

Secretary of the Communist Party Nikita Khrushchev. The meeting takes place in Geneva in July, 1955.

Eisenhower makes his "Open Skies" proposal, which would give both countries extensive information about each other's military establishments and allow aerial reconnaissance of each other's territory. Although no concrete agreements result from the summit meeting, the opportunity for personal contact between the leaders of the superpowers does lead to talk of a "spirit of Geneva," reflecting both a tacit agreement to avoid confrontation and a potential for a thaw in the cold war.

***Camp David (1959) - Khrushchev and Eisenhower**

In August, after the death of John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower's Secretary of State since 1953, who opposed all summit meetings with the Soviet Union, Eisenhower announces that Soviet Premier Khrushchev will exchange visits to one another's countries. Khrushchev visits the United States. He tours the country and is especially intrigued with Disneyland. He ends his trip with a series of private meetings with President Eisenhower at the Presidential retreat in Maryland known as Camp David.

Although the leaders do not resolve East-West issues, such as the status of Berlin and German re-unification, they do agree to a summit of the former allied powers in Paris on May 16, 1959, at which discussion of these issues could continue. Progress at the conference is halted by the furor created by the Soviet disclosure that they have shot down an American U-2 reconnaissance plane over their territory (the Gary Powers incident).

***Vienna (1961) - Khrushchev and Kennedy**

Despite continued East-West disagreement over the disposition of Berlin and the two Germanies, as well as the publicity surrounding the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, the newly elected U.S. President John F. Kennedy meets with Khrushchev in Vienna in June, 1961 to discuss the German problem. It is a meeting marked by tension and is without concrete results.

The Vienna summit, however, does help promote a working relationship between the two countries, and may indirectly help in negotiations in August 1963 that results in the signing of a Limited Test Ban Treaty, restricting nuclear testing to underground sites.

***Glassboro (1967) - Kosygin and Johnson**

Lyndon B. Johnson becomes President in November, 1963, after Kennedy is assassinated and Khrushchev has been replaced by Alexei Kosygin. The Johnson Administration's increasing involvement in a war against North Vietnam, an ally of the Soviet Union, makes it difficult to have fruitful relations with the Soviets.

Nevertheless, in 1967 a brief, almost impromptu summit meeting is held in Glassboro, New Jersey, between Johnson and Kosygin. Although

there are no specific results from this meeting, it does continue the tradition, begun with Roosevelt and Stalin in 1943, of having leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States meet each other personally.

***Moscow (1972) - Brezhnev and Nixon**

As a confirmed "hard liner" when it comes to containment of communism, President Richard M. Nixon is not as vulnerable as some Democrats to accusations of being "soft on communism." Nixon is thus able to consider taking concrete steps toward improving relations with the People's Republic of China and with the Soviet Union.

In February, 1972 he visits China, where his week-long stay is the longest state visit ever made to a foreign country by a sitting U.S. President. The visit results in the complete U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China, and not of Taiwan, as the official representative of the Chinese people.

In May, 1972 Nixon goes to Moscow to sign with Brezhnev (who has replaced Kosygin) the first in a series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks treaties. This treaty (SALT I), which is perhaps the centerpiece of the improved U.S.-Soviet relations known as detente, was one of eleven treaties signed between 1972 and 1974. It contained agreements dealing with limitation of antiballistic missile systems (the ABM Treaty), a temporary limitation of offensive weapons, and a pledge to continue negotiation on a second SALT treaty.

Other treaties, encouraging cooperation in such fields as health, space exploration, and agriculture, are signed during these early years of detente. In addition, opportunities for trade between the two countries increase.

***Vienna (1979) - Brezhnev and Carter**

Talks between the two countries, which continue during the presidency of Gerald Ford (1974 - 1977) and the early years of President Jimmy Carter's Administration, include a visit between Ford and Brezhnev in Vladivostok in 1974. The talks yield little progress in terms of new arms reductions. However, after seven years of hard negotiations, Carter and Brezhnev travel to Vienna to sign the SALT II treaty. Although the treaty has not been ratified by the Senate (Carter stopped his active support of the treaty, which was controversial anyway, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979), both countries have continued to abide by its terms.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION: Based on this description of past summit meetings, on your following the news about the summit in the media, and on your knowledge of history and human relations,

1. Why have most of the summit meetings since 1945, described above, been bilateral rather than multilateral? What changes in the world balance of power occurred as the result of the second World War and the beginning of the atomic age?
2. Which of the summit conferences have been successful? In what ways? What factors led to their success?
3. Which of the summit conferences have been unsuccessful? In what ways? What factors led to the lack of success?
4. What expectations do Gorbachev and Reagan have for the upcoming summit meeting? Do their expectations coincide?
5. What are the major areas of interest that both leaders have in common? How might recognition of these areas of common ground help them work out mutually beneficial agreement?
6. What are some of the difficulties that two parties, in general, and Reagan and Gorbachev, in particular, may have in reaching agreement at the upcoming summit?
7. What are the major areas where they may be able to reach some agreement? Give your reasoning.
8. Even if no specific agreements are worked out, what are other benefits that could arise from the summit?

MOCK SUMMIT MEETINGS

NOTE: Below are two lessons for organizing a mock summit meeting in the classroom. The first is appropriate for high school and for strong middle school students. In the first lesson the class is divided into two teams, representing the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The second lesson, organized in small groups of 4-5 students, may be preferable for 7th - 9th grade and less able high school students.

Please consider these only as general guidelines. We encourage you to read through both Mock Summits with the specific abilities and needs of your students in mind.

MOCK SUMMIT MEETING

by John Schultz, Washington DC/ESR and Gary Nicolai, Philadelphia

Level: Advanced Middle School / High School

Time required: 80 - 100 minutes.

Objectives: Students will

Gain a better understanding of the process of negotiation.

Learn about international negotiation within the context of U.S.-Soviet relations.

Lesson. A mock negotiation session, which can be done as a follow-up to the reading and discussion activities in the previous lesson.

This activity will give students the chance to research those issues that may be discussed at the summit, to role play the leaders of the two countries, and to act as experts on the various issues.

It is probably best to hold your mock negotiation in advance of the actual summit meeting, so you generate a greater student interest in the summit. By actually struggling to reach an agreement and issue a joint communique, participants in the mock negotiation will gain a better understanding of the process of negotiation and experience the challenge of trying to find common ground - two steps that are essential for improved U.S.- Soviet relations.

A. Introduction:

This November Gorbachev and Reagan will meet in Geneva to discuss a number of possible topics. Relations between the two nations have been strained in recent years by, among other things, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. deployment of new cruise and Pershing missiles in western Europe, the Soviet withdrawal from the arms reduction talks, the U.S. intention to develop a space-based defense, and the recent (9/13/85) U.S. testing of an anti-satellite weapon.

Although arms control talks conducted by high level delegations between the two nations resumed in Geneva in March, 1985, there is no definite indication of what progress there has been in the negotiations.

The November Gorbachev-Reagan summit will give the two men a chance to discuss topics that may include the following:

- I. Arms control topics currently under discussion in Geneva:
 - a. Strategic or intercontinental nuclear weapons
 - b. Intermediate range or tactical nuclear weapons
 - c. Space-based defensive weapons and antisatellite weapons
- II. New methods for controlling crises before they escalate
- III. Regional issues:
 - a. the Middle East
 - b. East and West Germany
 - c. Central America
 - d. Afghanistan
- IV. Human Rights issues
- V. Trade and cultural exchange
- VI. Resumption of passenger air service between the countries
- VII. Opening of new consulates in both countries

Note: You will find a summary of both country's positions on some of these issues in the reprints in this packet.

B. Activities: Introducing the Mock Summit:

Divide the class into two groups of equal size. One group will represent the Soviet Union, and the other will represent the United States at a simulated summit.

Choose or have each group pick a person who has good leadership and research ability to represent Gorbachev and Reagan. The other members of the group will serve as advisors to the respective leaders on some or all of the topics listed above. You may have to combine topics, create new ones, or pair up students, depending on the size of your class. If you set up your teams several weeks ahead of the November summit, students will have a chance to follow developments in world events that may affect the summit conference.

Instruct the student teams to begin research on their various topics and have them look for those areas in which they share a common interest with the other team. Read the following section on running the actual simulation, so you can tell your students what to expect. Allow the leaders to meet with their teams of experts before the mock summit to exchange ideas and to be able to instruct them as to what agreements they should try to reach in their negotiations with their counterparts on the other side.

A key concept in successful negotiation is that one should negotiate from one's real interest, rather than from rigidly held positions. Thus, encourage your students to approach their research and the role play with an idea to ascertaining their country's interests, rather than just its positions on the various issues.

C. Running the Mock Summit: (Be sure to let the participants know these ground rules before the simulation begins)

1. Arrange your room as a conference room
2. The summit will begin with both leaders giving a short (3-4 minutes) opening speech in which each welcomes the other and talks briefly about his or her hopes for the conference.
3. Then allow the two leaders and the experts on the various topics to begin negotiation with their counterparts. (15 minutes)
4. Have the teams reconvene as separate delegations (in separate rooms, if possible) to report to their leader the progress in the negotiations and to receive further instructions (15 minutes).
5. Have the teams again meet their counterparts, this time with the express goal of coming to some agreement in their negotiations. The leaders, Gorbachev and Reagan, may meet again or they can oversee the progress of their experts. (15 minutes)
6. The participants return to their leader to report on the agreements that they have been able to make. (10 minutes)
7. The two leaders (Gorbachev and Reagan) work out a joint communique with the advice of their experts. This communique will include all the agreements that the parties have been able to work out during the mock summit. (15 - 25 minutes)
8. The communique is read aloud by the leaders. (5-10 minutes)

D. Debriefing (after the actual summit is held)

1. Discuss with your class those aspects of the mock summit that seemed most realistic when compared with the actual summit.
2. How similar and different are U.S. and Soviet viewpoints on these issues? What issues showed greatest promise for mutual resolution? Where did you find strong disagreements? How did you suggest resolving these?
3. Compare the agreements reached by the class with what comes out of the actual summit. What effects are they likely to have on relations between the two countries and on world peace?
4. Discuss whether the mock summit was a success, and why or why not?
5. Ask students to reflect on what they learned about negotiation from their study of the actual summit and their participation in the mock summit.

A note about time: The times suggested for each portion of the mock summit are only approximate; they will vary depending on the size of your class and the speed with which they can carry out the tasks asked of them. (You may certainly allow more time for a given task, if you have the class time available.) Be aware that if you give too little time, it may make it more difficult for the parties to reach agreements.

MOCK SUMMIT: LOOKING AT BOTH SIDES

by John Zola, Boulder, Colorado

Level: Middle / Secondary (See note on previous lesson plan in regard to grade levels.)

Time required: Two class periods.

Objectives: Students will:

- be able to list important issues likely to be raised at the Geneva summit
- look at the issues from both the U.S. and Soviet perspectives
- explain and develop a personal stand on issues that could lead to U.S. - Soviet cooperation

Materials: Copies of handout "Summit Meeting Preparation Guide"

Lesson.

DAY 1.

1. Introduce the lesson by telling students that for the next two days, they will examine issues likely to be raised at the upcoming summit between Reagan and Gorbachev. Use the list in the previous activity for a Mock Summit of potential topics or ask students to brainstorm the issues they think will occupy the attention of the two world leaders and then compare what they come up with to the above list. (The latter is more time consuming, of course.) (See also Summary of Positions paper in the High School Section.)
2. Divide the class into small groups of 4-5 students. Each group should "claim" two issues to explore. Be sure that all issues of significance are spoken for. Give each group two copies of the handout "Summit Meeting Preparation Guide."

The group tasks are:

- a. To fill out one complete worksheet for each issue, 1/2 from a Soviet perspective, 1/2 from a United States perspective. Great care and thought and the adoption of differing perspectives are needed to engage usefully in this process.
- b. Supplemental research overnight is certainly to be encouraged.
- c. Emphasize the goal of broadening understanding on all sides of these issues.

DAY 2.

3. Re-form groups and begin a large group de-briefing of this activity. Ask a group to volunteer to share its information, the pros and cons from each side, and the recommended position. The remainder of the class can challenge and clarify the issues.

As the teacher, facilitate and clarify as necessary. Bring closure to an issue by sampling student opinion on the policy that would best address the issue while also contributing to U.S. - Soviet cooperation.

Questions for wrap-up could include:

- * How similar and different are U.S. and Soviet viewpoints on these issues?
- * What issues show greatest promise for mutual resolution?
- * Where did you find strong disagreements? How did you suggest resolving these?
- * In what ways did this process resemble and differ from the actual summit?

FOLLOW-UP: Students choose a particular issue to follow during the "real" summit.

SUMMIT MEETING PREPARATION GUIDE

NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: _____

ISSUE# _____ : _____

PROS

CONS

POSITION WE WILL ADVOCATE ON THIS ISSUE TO INCREASE CHANCES OF
US - SOVIET COOPERATION:

**THE REAGAN-GORBACHEV SUMMIT:
A CLOSER LOOK AT ARMS CONTROL ISSUES**

Level: High School

Time period: Three class periods.

Objectives: Students will:

- become familiar with factual information about events leading up to the summit, within the framework of common ground.
- gain insight into the obstacles and barriers to finding common ground that exist among both people and countries.
- be exposed to a range of viewpoints in selected newspaper articles, chosen because they either suggest possibilities for finding common or contain obstacles to finding common ground.

Materials needed: A class set of xeroxed copies of the background summaries and news articles. (Note: You will find additional articles for background reading at the end of this packet, following the RESOURCES section.)

Day One. Distribute the following background information for reading and discussion.

1. Background.

In early July, 1985 the United States and the Soviet Union announced that President Reagan and Party Secretary Gorbachev would meet in Geneva, Switzerland on November 19 for a two-day summit. This will be the first meeting between Reagan and the Soviet leader.

2. What are the Issues?

There is a four-part agenda for the summit conference: Arms control, regional issues, bilateral questions (such as new cultural and consular agreements), and human rights.

The Soviets are willing to talk about the first three categories, but refuse to talk about human rights.

3. A Summary of Positions. (See accompanying article)

4. Recent Events.

The following is a summary of some steps and statements leading up to the summit that have been taken by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Discussion: Evaluate the potential effects of each of the following statements for possible outcomes of the summit meeting.

In making these judgments, be sure to pay attention to the tone of the statements, as well as their content.

a) The U.S. has asserted its willingness to reopen talks on resuming direct air travel between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. The landing rights of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, in New York were cancelled in 1981 by the Reagan Administration as a punishment for the Soviet-backed military crackdown in Poland on the Solidarity union.

b) A group of American government health and environmental specialists traveled to Moscow at the end of August to study the allegedly dangerous chemical powder that the K.G.B. has been accused of using to track American movements in the Soviet Union. Some people have raised questions about why the U.S. is bringing this up now, since it has known about it since 1979. The U.S. asserts that only recently has it become aware of the chemical's danger.

c) Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev, in an exclusive interview with editors of TIME magazine, stated that relations between the two superpowers are "very tense, even explosive."

In Gorbachev's view recent U. S. rhetoric and actions reveal that the U.S. attitude toward the summit is that "even the slightest headway depends exclusively upon concessions by the Soviet Union." He sees Washington's approach to the summit meeting as "attempts to drive us into a corner, to ascribe to us... every mortal sin... This is not a state policy, it is a feverish search for 'forces of evil.'"

As a result, Gorbachev believes that "relations between our two countries are continuing to deteriorate, the arms race is intensifying and the war threat is not subsiding."

When asked what is the primary thing that defines Soviet-American relations, he said: "I think it is the immutable fact whether we like one another or not, we can either survive or perish only together."

"All our attempts to somehow lead matters toward ending the arms race, toward relaxing tensions, toward disarmament... come up against a negative position of the U.S. administration. We keep hearing one and the same answer: 'No, no, no. It's propaganda, propaganda, propaganda.'"

d) The Soviet leader proposed a moratorium on nuclear testing through the end of 1985 and indefinitely thereafter if the U. S. joins the moratorium. He also proposed a zone in Europe free of chemical weapons.

e) The U. S. response to the moratorium offer was that it is propaganda. The U.S. asserted that if Gorbachev were serious about this proposal, he should have put it on the table at the Geneva arms talks' negotiations. As a counter-proposal, the U.S. invited the Soviets to observe a nuclear explosion in the Nevada desert (the invitation was rejected). Subsequently, the U.S. announced a decision to test an antisatellite weapon and did so on September 12, in the

belief that "the continuing American buildup will give Mr. Reagan more bargaining leverage for Geneva."

f) The U.S. response to the proposal of a European chemical free zone was that it is essentially nothing new.

g) In a meeting with a bipartisan group of U.S. senators, immediately following his interview with TIME, Gorbachev said that "if the U.S. is prepared to discuss the question of the militarization of space, it would then hear from the Soviet side the most radical proposals on strategic arms and intermediate-range weapons."

h) Of these interviews the Reagan Administration said: They are a public relations campaign - "Gorbachev is out there selling hard" - designed to build up expectations about the summit beyond what the Administration believes is prudent. It is afraid that expectations will get out of hand. Reagan warned against "wishful thinking" and stated that the Soviet Union was trying to cast the U.S. as "villains."

Reagan advisors see the summit not as an opportunity for detailed negotiations aimed at achieving breakthroughs on specific issues. They believe the summit is a chance for the two leaders to get acquainted and improve the climate of the current seriously strained relationship: A chance to set "an agenda for the future," and to establish "some basis for future discussions."

Reagan Administration supporters stated that Gorbachev's interviews were "a beautifully orchestrated barrage of publicity aimed at raising hopes for a dramatic American concession...if nothing comes of the meeting, it's all the Americans' fault."

i) The Reagan Administration said that it welcomed Gorbachev's willingness to "submit serious proposals...[for] an improvement of relations," and that although the U.S. view of the causes of present U.S.-Soviet tension is "quite different from that presented by Mr. Gorbachev," America will not debate this publicly.

j) President Reagan said that the U.S. and the Soviet Union are the only nations capable of starting or preventing another world war. "What we would hope to do is to make them recognize that we both have to live in the world together. That doesn't mean that we have to love each other or that we have to change each other's system."

Reagan ruled out any arrangement that would prohibit testing of advanced defensive technology (space based weapons/SDI/Star Wars), which the U.S. feels is currently permitted by treaty, in return for a Soviet offer to reduce substantially the number of offensive missiles and bombers. SDI is not a "bargaining chip" for the mid-November Geneva summit, he said. It is "too important to the world to have us be willing to trade that off for a different number of nuclear missiles when there are already more than enough to blow both countries out of the world."

Robert McFarlane, Reagan's national security adviser, said (9/17) that the U.S. had no "illusions" that the Soviet Union would change

fundamentally and had accepted the fact that the two nations would be "engaged in an enduring competition of ideas. The U.S. is ready for it."

Other Reagan officials, however, noted that Reagan is a "political realist" and "really wants an arms control agreement."

k) American newspapers have characterized the approaching summit with the following assessment:

1. "The two protagonists are already bargaining in public."
2. "Each is trying at long distance to frame the agenda and establish the standards for success or failure."
3. "They are battling over what this first Soviet-American summit meeting since 1979 should be expected to produce and what the priorities should be in arms control."
4. "With deliberate fanfare, the Kremlin is playing up the meeting as a crucial moment for substantive agreements on arms control."
5. "The Reagan Administration has been trying to cool public expectations. After three years of insisting that no summit should take place without an advance agenda and without strong likelihood of concrete achievements, the White House now contends that the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting can do no more than set an agenda for Soviet-American relations and get the two leaders acquainted...a beginning point for better relations, a starting point for progress."
6. "The public relations gambits reflect substantive differences and rival negotiating strategies."
7. "Moscow has had the best of the jousting."
8. "Whether the summit conference will be a scene of heated confrontation or historic accomplishment will be largely determined by quiet negotiations over the next two months."
9. "A wide chasm separates Washington and Moscow."
10. "One major problem is that the Soviet Union sharply disagrees with the U.S. over the dividing line between permissible research and prohibited testing and development under the Anti-Ballistic treaty of 1972."

Day Two.

Differing Perspectives and Expectations.

Distribute copies of the following two alternative views of prospects for the summit. You can introduce them with Question #4 and can approach a discussion of their content through the questions after each one, as well as those questions that apply to both.

5. What are some of the different perspectives about what can be achieved at the summit?

THE VIEW OF CRITICS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH

1. The U.S. and the Soviet Union reaffirm their policies of not undercutting the SALT nuclear arms agreements on offensive arms until a new strategic arms agreement is agreed to.

2. The U.S. and the Soviet Union reaffirm their commitment to the 1972 anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty and agree to work to strengthen its provisions.
3. The U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to a moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons; neither country will test anti-satellite weapons as long as the other country similarly refrains.
4. The U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to bar any encryption of telemetry data from strategic nuclear weapons tests.
5. The U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to bar the deployment of any new MIRVed ICBMs, including the U.S. MX missile and the Soviet SS-X-24 missile.
6. The U.S. and the Soviet Union agree to suspend all further nuclear explosive testing while launching negotiations to halt testing permanently (a Comprehensive Test Ban - CTB).
7. The U.S. and the Soviet Union agree in principle on an interim strategic arms agreement, with the details of a subsequent treaty subject to further negotiations in Geneva. Included in such an interim agreement could be a strategic nuclear warhead ceiling, annual reductions in both strategic launchers and warheads and a minimum goal of a 30 percent reduction in both strategic launchers and warheads.

DISCUSSION:

1. What is the premise behind these suggestions? (that the summit is an opportunity for increasing mutual security)
2. What are the assumptions behind these suggestions? (that a deadlock exists in lessening tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and in negotiating limits to and reductions of the arms race in offensive and defensive weapons; that the two leaders alone are in a position to break the deadlock and make real progress.
3. Can you distinguish between the assumptions and the assertions?

SUMMIT EXPECTATIONS: THE VIEW OF RICHARD NIXON

(see following article)

Discussion:

1. What are Nixon's ASSUMPTIONS?

- a) that the U.S. and Soviets have "irreconcilable" and "intractable" differences.
- b) that "anyone who reaches the top in the Soviet Hierarchy is bound to be a dedicated Communist and a strong, ruthless leader."
- c) that the Soviets' policy is to "extend Soviet domination into the non-Communist world."
- d) If the arms race continues at its present level, Soviet superiority is inevitable.
- e) SDI is indispensable to arms control because it provides the Soviets with an incentive to limit offensive armaments.
- f) weapons per se do not cause wars; political differences that lead to their use lead to war.
- g) the Soviets have a policy of supporting revolutionary movements in the third world, but they are not true liberation movements.

2. What are Nixon's ASSERTIONS?

- a) that the Soviets are not responsible for all the troubles in the world.
- b) that we must link what happens on political issues with arms control.

Discussion: Finding Common Ground

1. Can you find any common ground between Nixon's ideas for summit outcomes and those of the organizations opposed to the Reagan Administration's approach?

2. Can you find any areas of agreement on which people who support Nixon's view and those who support the other view might be able to develop projects on which they could work together?

Meeting the Russians at the Summit

By Richard Nixon

IN the age of nuclear parity, summit meetings between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union have become essential if peace is to be preserved.

Most of our differences will never be resolved. But the United States and the Soviet Union have one major goal in common: survival. Each has the key to the other's survival. The purpose of summit meetings is to develop rules of engagement that could prevent our profound differences from bringing us into armed conflict that could destroy us both.

With this limited but crucially important goal in mind, we must disabuse ourselves from the start of the much too prevalent view that if only the two leaders could develop a new "tone" or "spirit" in their relationship our problems would be solved. Such factors are irrelevant when nations have irreconcilable differences.

Former President Nixon held summit meetings with Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1972, 1973 and 1974. This article is adapted from a longer essay in the forthcoming issue of Foreign Affairs.

The obsession with style over substance among some observers is ludicrous. The fact that Mikhail S. Gorbachev has a firm handshake, excellent eye contact, a good sense of humor and dresses fashionably is no more relevant to his policies than the fact that Nikita S. Khrushchev wore ill-fitting clothes, drank too much and spoke crude Russian. Anyone who reaches the top in the Soviet hierarchy is bound to be a dedicated Communist and a strong, ruthless leader who supports the policy of extending Soviet domination into the non-Communist world. We can "do business" with Mr. Gorbachev, but only if we recognize that the business involves intractable differences between competitive states.

President Reagan will be urged to prove to Mr. Gorbachev that he is sincerely dedicated to peace and that, despite his tough rhetoric, he is really a very nice man. The President does not have to prove that he is for peace. Mr. Gorbachev knows that. What is important is that he also understand that President Reagan is a strong leader, one who is fair and reasonable, but who will take action to protect American interests when they are threatened.

Debates about ideology will serve no useful purpose. Mr. Gorbachev is

as dedicated to his ideology as President Reagan is to his. Neither is going to convert the other.

In the postwar era, no two leaders came to a summit more endowed with charm and charisma. But for one to try to charm the other would bring not affection but contempt; that

would certainly be Mr. Gorbachev's reaction. An essential element of a new relationship is not sentimental expressions of friendship but hardheaded mutual respect. In 1959, before I met Khrushchev, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Britain told me that he sensed in his meetings with the Soviet leaders that, above all, they "wanted to be admitted as members of the club." This is a small price to pay for laying the foundations for a new structure of peace in the world.

Without a new arms control agreement — even if the United States were to continue its arms program at the levels requested by President

Reagan rather than the far lower levels approved by Congress, and if the Russians were to continue at current levels — the Soviet Union will be further ahead in nuclear missiles in 1990 than it is today.

If we are to prevent otherwise inevitable Soviet superiority, our only option is to negotiate a new, verifiable arms control agreement based on strict parity that denies a first-strike capability to the Soviet Union as well as to ourselves. That is why the President's Strategic Defense Initiative is indispensable to arms control. Without it, Moscow would have no incentive to limit

its offensive weapons. Reducing the danger of nuclear war involves arms control, but it is a mistake to support arms control as desirable in itself and to believe that any agreement is better than none. It is not the existence of arms, but political differences that lead to their use, which leads to war. A bad agreement

Potential
flash points
for conflict
should top
the agenda

that opens the way to Soviet superiority increases the danger of war. Even a good agreement will not prevent war if political differences lead to armed conflict.

Arms control and political issues must go forward together. Progress on arms control can lead to stability and the reduction of political tensions. Reduction of political tensions can lead to a better climate for reaching an arms control agreement that is fair to both sides. Those who contend that we should seek arms control regardless of what happens on political issues should bear in mind that what destroyed any chance for Senate approval of the second treaty limiting strategic weapons was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Today, there is no chance that the Senate would approve an arms control treaty while the Soviet Union is supporting anti-United States forces in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

A summit agenda, therefore, should have as its first priority not arms control but the potential flash points for superpower conflicts — particularly the Middle East and Central America.

The most difficult and potentially dangerous issue that brings the two nations into confrontation is the Soviet policy of supporting revolutionary movements in the third world. The Brezhnev Doctrine of 1968 proclaimed that Soviet conquests in Eastern Europe were irreversible. Putting it simply, Mr. Brezhnev said, "What's mine is mine." By Soviet probes against our allies and friends in Latin America, Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, that doctrine has been extended to mean "What's yours is mine."

The Soviet leaders must be made to understand that it would be both irrational and immoral for the United States and the West to accept that the

We have one goal in common: survival

Soviet Union has a right to support wars of liberation in the non-Communist world without insisting on our right to defend our allies and friends under assault, and to support true liberation movements against pro-Soviet regimes in the third world.

We cannot expect the Russians to cease being Communists, dedicated to expanding Communist influence and domination in the world. But we must make clear to them that military adventurism will destroy the chances for better relations between us. Our only common interest is to conduct ourselves in such a way that such conflicts do not escalate into nuclear confrontation.

While we should hold the Russians accountable for the actions they take, that are opposed to our interests, we should recognize that they are not responsible for all of the troubles in the world. The income gap between nations that produce raw materials and those that consume them, famines caused by climatic changes, radical Muslim fundamentalist and terrorist movements emanating from Libya and Iran — all of these problems would exist even if the Soviet Union did not. But rather than exploiting each problem, the Soviet Union should join the United States and other Western nations in combating them.

The Russians should be especially concerned about the rise of Muslim fundamentalism not only because one-third of the population of the Soviet Union is Muslim, but also because the Muslim revolution competes with the Soviet revolution for the support of people in third world nations.

There is one phase of our competition that should be brought under control — competing with each other in fueling the arms race in the third world. There is no prospect for reducing arms sales soon, if at all, but both the United States and the Soviet Union have an interest in controlling them and not letting them drag us into conflict.

The most highly charged emotional issue is that of human rights abuses in the Soviet Union. The Russians insist that under no circumstances will they allow their internal policies to be a subject for negotiation with another Government. We should make human rights a top-priority private issue, but not a public issue.

We saw this principle in practice in 1972. In my summit conversations with Mr. Brezhnev, I privately urged that he lift limitations on Jewish emigration in order to gain support for defense in the United States. A record 37,000 exit visas were granted that year. The following year, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to the trade bill put public pressure on the Russians to increase Jewish emigration. They reacted by sharply reducing the number of visas rather than increasing them.

The one absolute certainty about the Soviet-American relationship is that the struggle in which we are engaged will last not just for years but for decades. Whatever their faults, the Russians will be firm, patient and consistent in pursuing their foreign policy goals. We must match them in this respect. Mikhail Gorbachev, at 54, is a man who does not need to be in a hurry. He may live long enough to deal with as many as five American Presidents. We must not give him the opportunity to delay making a deal with one President in the hope that he might get a better one from the President who is to succeed him. □

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ARMS CONTROL

Progress at Geneva has been stymied by the dispute over President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. The Soviet Union has refused to negotiate cuts in offensive nuclear arms until the United States agrees to discuss a ban on all aspects of Star Wars, except theoretical research. In his press conference, Mr. Reagan specifically ruled out a "bargaining chip" approach that would abandon space-defense weapons in return for cuts in offensive arms. He reiterated that Washington is ready to negotiate sharp cuts in offensive weapons.

However, he suggested that before such new systems are deployed — probably not until the late 1990's — there should be Soviet-American discussions. Rather than negotiating away Star Wars, which the Russians portray as a widening of the arms race, Mr. Reagan wants to persuade Mr. Gorbachev to endorse the concept. Washington and Moscow disagree on virtually every aspect of arms control, notably on Soviet proposals to ban underground testing and prohibit chemical weapons in parts of Europe. Barring major shifts, no arms-control accords are likely at the summit conference.

REGIONAL ISSUES

High-level experts have recently met to discuss Afghanistan, the Middle East, southern Africa and the Far East, but with no changes apparent in either side's position. Again, no agreements seem likely when the leaders meet, although both sides will probably reaffirm their desire to keep regional problems from growing into major East-West conflicts.

BILATERAL MATTERS

The best prospects for concrete achievements at the summit conference are for so-called bilateral accords, but preparations have been proceeding at a "tortoise's pace," according to one senior State Department official. The proposals are tied together in a package that starts with completing an accord on air safety in the Pacific. Next would come the resumption of direct air service between Moscow and New York, then a cultural and consular accord. "It's possible to get quite a lot agreed to in those areas," the official said, but last week even the Pacific air accord remained unfinished.

If the leaders' meetings produce little of substance, however, a failure would probably increase worldwide apprehension about the course of East-West relations. In this context, when a senior State Department official outlined the modest prospects at a briefing last week, he was asked why the meeting was still on.

In reply, he referred to the fundamental obligations of "the two most powerful countries in the world, each possessing a strong array of weaponry," and to "the great stake" Americans share with the rest of the world in seeing that the powerful weapons are never used: "It's incumbent on the leaders of these two countries," he said, "to come together and see what they can work out — if they can work anything out — that enhances the stability of the world."

Day Three.

THE FORGOTTEN SUMMIT
by James Reston

Distribute the article by Reston.

Introduction.

Introduce the article with the idea that the need for common ground is not confined only to nations. Within a nation, too, the public may have strong disagreements about issues and policies. Problems can be entrenched when those with opposing views about how to solve them dig in their heels. Students might brainstorm briefly about such groups in the United States, what topics separate them, and how public problems and issues can worsen while opponents argue. The discussion questions should help clarify this concept.

James Reston's article "The Forgotten Summit" presents this very dilemma, urging a "summit" between Republicans and Democrats, and between the Executive and Congressional branches of the U.S. government, in order for the U. S. to make progress on serious problems besetting it, such as: the deficit, trade imbalance, national security.

Discussion:

1. What does Reston mean when he refers to the "larger questions of the 'security' of the country?"
2. On what issues does Reston believe there is agreement between the Democrat and Republican parties and the U.S. and other nations?
3. If Reston is correct about these areas of agreement - this common ground - what are the obstacles to the two parties and/or the nations working together?
4. Reston says: "What is harder to understand is why there is so little candid talk between the political leaders here in Washington, for example, about the things that unite them - and there are many - rather than about the things that divide them." What Reston is really talking about here is finding common ground.
 - a. What does Reston see as the reasons for these leaders to talk about what unites them?
 - b. What does he see as the consequences of their not talking about what unites them, but continuing to talk rather about things that divide them?
 - c. Summarize the gist of Reston's argument for why we need a "Washington summit meeting between the President and his Cabinet and between the Administration and the leaders of Congress."

NY TIMES
9-8-85

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WASHINGTON
James Reston

The Forgotten Summit

President Reagan and the leaders of Congress have come back from vacation proclaiming that they're "rarin' to go." The problem is that they're going in opposite directions.

Nearing the end of the President's fifth year in office, with three more to go, they are poised for a battle over the control of Congress in next year's elections, over control of the budget, world trade and the nuclear arms race.

Everybody here, of whatever political persuasion, senses that we have come to another fork in the road, with "wrong way" signs flashing, but with no steady hand at the wheel uptown or downtown.

It's not that the facts are in dispute. Give or take a few billions of cuts out of last year's budget, the deficit is still threatening to reach a couple hundred billion a year, and over the long run, that's not spare cash.

This year, the United States became a debtor nation for the first time since 1914. As Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas has pointed out — and he may be the critical figure in the coming trade debate — the U.S. will owe other countries over \$1 trillion by 1990 if current trends continue.

What is going on here, especially since the members of Congress have come back from talking to the people back home, is a challenge to the President and his Administration about what is really meant by "the security of the nation."

Is "security" to be defined mainly in terms of missiles, and the defense budget, and the "Star Wars" of outer space? In terms of the Russians? What about the farmers of America,

A domestic
conference
should take
place before
Geneva

who now own their creditors \$113 billion, or the children and old folk of America, whose security is also endangered by the budget?

These are at least relevant questions. And the interesting thing is that in this pause after the summer recess, and before we plunge into the political arguments about who's to blame, the President and the leaders of Congress are not talking seriously and privately to one another about the larger questions of the "security" of the Republic.

One thing is fairly clear: About the security and objectives of policy, both at home and abroad, there is general agreement between the parties and the nations. All want or at least proclaim that they want peace and prosperity, and control of the arms race and the trade race, and respect for the suffering of the hungry majority of the human race.

But about the means to these noble and probably not quite attainable ends, there is wide and honest disagreement. All this is understandable. But what is harder to understand is why there is so little candid talk between the political leaders here in Washington, for example, about the things that unite them — and there are many — rather than about the things that divide them.

Nothing the President or the Democratic leaders in Congress want to do can be achieved one without the other. Popular as the President is, he cannot impose his policies on the Democratic majority in the House, or on the Republican leaders of the Senate, even if he made up his mind what his policies were.

The same thing is true of the Democrats. They are a divided company of warring tribes. Mr. Reagan has defeated them but has not convinced them, though like him they have no party policy of their own. They merely try to balance the books every day on television, where Mr. Reagan usually defeats them.

The result is that the President has come back from the ranch in California and the Congressional leaders back from their junkets to Moscow and elsewhere without any new ideas about how to resolve the policy problems at home and abroad.

It's almost as if they were never away and scarcely missed. The President has been down in Carolina calling for tax reform and a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, as if he hadn't presided over the most spectacular budget deficit in history. And Tip O'Neill has come back from Massachusetts growling about Mr. Reagan's failures, as if anybody was listening.

Meanwhile, there is a lot of talk around here about the President's summit conference with Mikhail Gorbachev, Moscow's new designated hitter, at Geneva in November.

Everybody seems to be wondering what's in Mr. Gorbachev's mind, which is probably the wrong question. The really important question is what is on Mr. Reagan's mind. Before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Geneva, what we need is a Washington summit meeting between the President and his Cabinet and between the Administration and the leaders of Congress to think about where the "re going and who's going with them." □

EXAMINING THE SOURCE: A UNIT ON THE USSR

by Barbara Beckwith, Greater Boston ESR

Level: High School

Time period: Two to four class periods.

Objectives: Students will:

- learn to question the source of information.
- learn to ask relevant questions about information they receive so that they will be better prepared to cope with both propaganda and contradictory opinion.
- understand the limits and potential of any one source of information when considering its "believability."
- be able to correlate data from a variety of sources.
- be able to infer a writer's purpose and point of view from her/his writing.
- be able to identify suggested meanings in connotative wording.
- be able to distinguish among fact, interpretation, and opinion.
- form opinions and conclusions while keeping an open mind to alternative interpretations, information, and opinions.
- be able to tolerate ambiguity and complexity in making inferences from a variety of sources.

Materials: A xeroxed class set of copies of each of the following articles/sources: two student diaries; newspaper briefs; excerpts from Two Worlds of Childhood, an American and a Soviet textbook, a travel guide, and an essay.

Day One.

Write a paragraph describing your school from the imagined point of view of one of the following:

- a student who has dropped out
- an architect
- a parent (yours, or an imagined one)
- someone who attended the school 20 years ago (or when it opened)
- an "investigative" reporter looking for a story with conflict in it
- a student who is four grades below you
- a student who switched to a public/private school (whichever yours is NOT)

(Students can also choose to describe themselves from the point of view of a parent, the principal, a brother/sister/relative, a best friend, someone who doesn't like him/her, a present/past boss.)

Discussion:

1. What are the limits of each person's view of your school (or you)?
2. What if they shared their knowledge? Would they then have the whole picture?

Days Two/Three/Four. Depending on time available and depth of discussion, this lesson can extend from two to four class periods.

Activity: Distribute copies of the articles/sources.

For the teacher: Background information on each source and outline of limitations of the point of view of each source.

Below, after the guidelines for discussion, is some background information about each source for the teacher. S/he can give students that information, if they ask, but should wait until they do ask. Also provided for the teacher are suggestions about the limitations of the point of view of each source.

Discussion: Students will examine each article/source through the following basic questions:

1. What does the article/source say about life in the Soviet Union?
2. How does it back up what it says (stories? numbers? examples?)
3. What feeling do you get about the Soviet Union from this article/source?
4. What in the article/source makes you feel that way?
5. Do you believe what the article/source says? Why or why not?
6. If you don't believe the article/source, could parts of it still be true?
7. If you do believe the article/source, do you think it's true for everyone in the USSR?
8. What questions could you ask to find out whether to believe it?

Discussion continued:

1. The teacher asks the above questions.
2. The question, "How do you know if it's true?" is the crucial one.
3. At this point, the teacher should press hard, until students start to ask these or similar questions:

- * Who wrote it?
- * Who is that person? (Russian/American, old/young, anonymous, etc.)
- * How does that person know the USSR?
- * How might that person's experience influence or limit his/her understanding of the USSR? (See suggestions below)
- * What publication did the person write for? How might the publication influence or limit what is said about the USSR?

For further consideration:

1. If the bias in a source is strong and obvious, does that make the information in it unsound?
2. If you like or agree with an author, does that influence how accepting you are of the information in the article? Conversely, if you dislike an author, does that influence your reading of her/his work?
3. Can a writer be unpleasant, but still right?

For further consideration:

This unit is a selection of articles that doesn't pretend to be comprehensive. It is a selection that one person made.

- * Does the selection say anything about that person's point of view?
- * What else might have been included?
- * How might those inclusions have changed what students get from this unit?

Final Exercise:

Imagine that your class has been asked to send 10 pieces of writing to a class in the Soviet Union to represent what the U.S. is like. Work in groups to make a collection, then confer and agree on 10 pieces the whole class will send. After you have made your choices, consider these questions:

1. What did you leave out?
2. Do your omissions distort the image of the U.S. that the Soviet class will receive?
3. Would it be possible to make up for your omissions if you had a 20-piece limit?
4. Do you think 10 selections about the Soviet Union might omit important views of the USSR and distort your view of the USSR?
5. If your view is distorted, does that mean it is useless, worse than no view at all?
6. How would you want the Soviet class to view the 10 pieces you send them?
7. What sources do the US and USSR governments use to get information on each other? Are there any limits to using those sources? Any advantages?

Some Background Information on Each Source for the Teacher:

- * Two student diaries. Jennifer and Chrissie are U.S. high school students from Massachusetts who spent two weeks in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1983.
Jennifer was one of 15 students in a group led by her private school's Russian teacher. The teacher had grown up in the Soviet Union, living in the Armenian Republic for 20 years. Jennifer visited six Soviet cities, two in Armenia.
Chrissie visited three cities in a group of 24 students and 10 adults. Her group was led by a teacher who organizes trips to the Soviet Union during the summers for U.S. youth work groups. Chrissie's group gathered writings and art work from their public school classmates into a packet they called "Images of Peace." Several members of the group, including Chrissie, are founders / members of STOP Nuclear War. Arrangements had been made to talk to Peace Committees in Soviet cities, where they presented "Images of Peace."
- * Textbooks. "Frances Fitzgerald's book America Revisited (Atlantic Monthly Press: Little, Brown, and Co., 1979) has

aroused considerable public interest because of her disclosure that American history textbooks are not merely products of scholarship. They must also reflect prevailing public opinion. The preparation of an American history textbook is a political process, as well as an intellectual one, because each publisher must strive to produce a book that will be as acceptable as possible to the greatest number of groups.

If American textbook publishing is, at least in part, a political process, the creation of textbooks in the U.S.S.R., while different, is no less so. There, while authors need not satisfy diverse groups and an ill-defined public opinion, they must conform instead to officially approved views and interpretations." ("The U.S. as Portrayed in Geography Textbooks in the USSR," by Howard D. Mehlinger, 1980.)

- * Fodor's Travel Guide to the Soviet Union. Fodor publishes travel guides on 40 different countries. The issue on the Soviet Union came out just before the shooting down of the Korean Air Lines jet by a Soviet plane. The book's introduction says, "We believe it is essential for those of us engaged in encouraging tourism to support all sincere efforts at People-to-People contact, no matter where or with whom, and specifically without regard to political differences between nations. We hope that the current tensions will lessen and conditions return in which such immediate contact can once more flourish. We hope that our policy of editorial moderation, of refraining from emphatic critical commentary on economic or political matters, will not lead our readers to believe that we are glossing over the many undesirable practices and failings of the monopolistic organization that is in charge of receiving and caring for every visitor arriving in the country."

In August, 1985, Soviet border officials confiscated Christian Science Monitor correspondent Gary Thatcher's files and notes for a week, including his 1983 Fodor's Travel Guide to the Soviet Union. Thatcher wrote that the Soviet official said the book, which mentions "troubles in Poland," was anti-Soviet.

- * Fieffer's "Russian Winter." Fieffer uses descriptive words with negative connotations. Students could list them. He uses the weather to suggest more than physical cold. He uses comparisons to suggest the cold reflects a political and economic deadness as well. Students could compare the tone of "Russian Winter" to Fodor's description of winter in the Soviet Union: "Winter in Moscow can be fierce in January and early February but the rest of the year is tolerable. There is, of course, plenty of snow and in the dry cold the city looks very attractive under its white cover. Some people find the cold most exhilarating, and Russian interiors are always well-heated...The Russian Winter Festival lasts 12 days from December 25 to January 5. Carnivals take place in the immense Luzhniki Stadium in Moscow and elsewhere there are circuses and special theatrical performances. The Russian New Year is usually celebrated in restaurants and cafes."

Some Limitations of a Single Perspective:

a. A Teenager.

Short time of trip; saw only a few cities; didn't know Russian fluently; as Americans, attracted those who would criticize U.S.S.R. and who would illegally buy U.S. goods; influenced by teacher's background and perspectives, the perspective of their income, their public or private school background, and the level of their political involvement; went with a purpose and expectations; lack of experience with 1950s Red Scare era in U.S. might result in fewer preconceptions than adults.

b. The Red Shoes.

Only story about the U.S. in this textbook; book is probably read by all first graders, because Soviet education and texts are centralized and uniform throughout all grades; story idealizes the workingman, who is the hero; the characterizations of the shoe shop owner, mother, and workingman; how long it took the mother to earn money for the shoes; omissions (neighbors, relatives who might take care of the girl, or loan the woman money).

c. Bronfenbrenner's Two Worlds of Childhood.

Author born 1929, became U.S. citizen 1942. Wrote Two Worlds of Childhood: US and USSR (Simon & Schuster), 1972. Professor of Human Development, Cornell University. Specializes in family studies and cross-cultural studies of family/children support systems. His book concludes: "If the Russians have gone too far in subjecting the child and his peer group to conformity to a single set of values imposed by adult society, perhaps we have reached the point of diminishing returns in allowing excessive autonomy and in failing to utilize the constructive potential of the peer group in developing social responsibility and consideration for others."

d. Fodor's Travel Guide to the Soviet Union.

Fodor's is in the business of getting people to want to visit the USSR, so it can't be too negative. It has to show the country as interesting, colorful. It probably avoids the political, trying to see the USSR more in cultural terms. The authors are anonymous and/or multiple. They can't give their honest, personal views.

Fodor's advantages are that it gives examples, details, and facts. And it uses more neutral wording, rather than heavily biased wording.

e. Textbooks.

They address young people, so they are often simple. They're written as fact, so the bias is hard to see. They must please all textbook buyers in every state. (See note above on Frances Fitzgerald's work.)

f. News Correspondents and Newspapers/Magazines.

Reporters are based in Moscow; they don't often get to other cities in the Soviet Union. Newspapers want articles that 1) bring out problems, 2) are related to the U.S. Dissidents seek out American reporters to get publicity for their causes and support from Westerners. News articles are usually brief.

On this topic, the Christian Science Monitor wrote (8/12/85):
"All Western journalists in Moscow experience daily difficulties in trying to cover the news, which include:

- * Restricted access to information. The Soviet news media are heavily censored, government leaders are almost never available for interviews, and the few official spokesmen to be found in Moscow rarely stray beyond what has already been reported by the Soviet news agency Tass.
"I've worked in about 50 countries," says Hedrick Smith, who was a New York Times reporter in Moscow from 1971 to 1974. "There is no country that I've been in that is harder to get information in."
- * Soviet monitoring of correspondents' travel. Their cars are given special license plates, and trips of more than 25 miles outside Moscow must be cleared with the Foreign Ministry. In addition, many cities are closed to foreign visitors.
- * Living conditions. Correspondents are confined to two "ghettoes" for foreigners that are guarded by the Soviets 24 hours a day. Since July 15, 1982, the Soviets have required that all calls made by anyone into or out of the country be placed through operators. Reporters must live with the possibility that their mail is read, their telephones tapped, and their offices and apartments bugged and searched."

g. Readers Digest, published in 16 languages, plus braille, is the largest circulation magazine in the U.S. (30 million). Its articles reflect "Middle American conservatism," according to Magazines for Libraries. Most issues contain one condensed article on a communist country or on communism.

JENNIFER'S DIARY, SUMMER, 1984

— We finally got out of customs. We drove from there to the hotel. All the cars are the same except the people decorate the chairs in the inside of the car with material, etc. The people here all seem so cold except for a smile here and there, and the man at Customs gave you looks that would kill and everyone is intimidating. The housing isn't nice at all and all the people dress SO differently—women with spiked heels, etc...(at dinner)...Three waiters came up and asked Mr. D. if we wanted to exchange money or sell Walkmans, etc. It was really kinda sad. (People) usually walk together in 2s or 4s holding hands, even women. This is when they smile. It's almost like they find pleasure in each other, but because it can't be found elsewhere. I smiled at a little girl on the Metro and she looked at me and didn't even crack a smile. Tres strange and disturbing. Everyone gave us funny looks. It felt so strange to be the minority and not having English be the language.

—Next day: We went to Red Square and saw the Kremlin and the churches, etc. We also had a tour of the city which is really nice. N. was going on and on about her country. b.s., mostly. Lunch—was soup, cucumbers and horsemeat, but we did get soda and they call it lemonade and it's green and funny, but better than mineral water. After lunch we went to this science exhibition with more propaganda but it was really pretty. By this time my eyes were possibly permanently crossed. We asked 2 little kids how to get to Red Square because we knew that our hotel was near Red Square and we gave them a pack of gum—they were SO excited. It's bad because people really beg literally for gum, etc....We met these boys. One is a skater and SO nice. They all are. They insisted on carrying all of our bags, paying for sodas and the Metro etc. It was SO sad saying bye. We said we would write, etc. and they're gonna send pictures, etc.

— Friday—Sochi. We arrived here yesterday just in time for a swim. The water here is very clear. Everyone here wears bikinis and all and I feel so weird in our one-pieces. J. has met these guys who are trading hats for old sneakers and frisbees. We got dropped off at the marketplace—this scummy place. They kept wanting to buy stuff of ours....We flew to a Pioneer camp. 300 kids and the lady who was the head of the camp was so funny, she was constantly laughing and she was cute and pudgy. We played chess, ping-pong and badminton with some of the children. It was funny, strange, because they had some of their best players playing and they took it really seriously which was kinda creepy. We saw their parade and it was one of the creepiest experiences of my life. It was kinda like the Lord of the Flies or Hitler children. There were drums, marching and saluting, lifting flags. And it was children, little cute children. It could have been any child standing there saluting Lenin and the flag. Who's to say if I had been born here I wouldn't do what those children did. It's very intricate and difficult to express. It's SO hot and I feel really gross and want my own pillow, etc. and a shower that's normal. I'm now sitting at the airport staring at a man without an arm...

—Last night I had to go and fetch B's shirt and socks that were blown off the porch. The desk lady and doorman let us walk by without our passes. And we thought about it and the reason this type of system could never work is because it's dealing with people, not machines and no matter how hard they try to stifle it, there is a humanness that comes out....Some of the houses people live in couldn't be considered houses, more like huts. There is very little frivolous spending. It's not that the people don't have money. I think it's more that there really isn't anything to spend their money on...Some of the people you meet are so hungry for books, etc. Like the waiter in Moscow who begged for a magazine, and others who want jeans.

—It's so stupid that more people don't speak Russian in America, and visa versa. Russians speak English. We really have no understanding of one another and maybe the problem has a lot to do with the fact that we can't communicate. As Y. said, we like the American people but the government—thumbs down. Especially for Reagan. T's friend said they really do feed the bull in the newspapers. Once he read about all of these bombs and it wasn't even a bomb but a threat. The scariest thing is that it's so easy to fall into the trap that's set. How can you go against your leader? That's like not trusting your mother or something. It gets to the point where you don't know who to trust, and you kinda wonder who's being brainwashed. It's really confusing and scary when you don't know who to trust. Can you imagine finding out all the history you were told was wrong or something like that?

—Here I am in Armenia....We got to the airport yesterday, if you could call it an airport. It was awful. I went to the bathroom—it was so disgusting flies everywhere and newspaper for toilet paper. Gag me. Never again will I complain about a disgusting bathroom because I was in the worst in the world. I felt like I was in the movie A Year of Living Dangerously. Here I am in Armenia. This place is so different from Moscow and Sochi. Very depressing. T. and I took a walk. It was so awful, so many of the houses are awful and this is the capital of Armenia. We got ice cream at this store and the lady wanted to know about Boston. We went back tonight and gave her a card of Boston cause she got so excited about it. These people all seem to want to leave. Lenin just doesn't fit here.

—Yerevan—The men really look you over. Yuk. J. and I gave a little kid gum. He started to dance he was so happy. The area outside the city is totally different, very barren, hardly any trees and mountains everywhere. These village boys gave us apples for gum. The village was tres gross—old ugly sheep and goats, etc. But the view was incredible.

—I've been in Leningrad for 2 days. I love it. We went to the Winter Palace and the Hermitage. It was the most beautiful place I've ever seen. I loved the impressionist painting.

—Now I'm in Talin (Estonia). It was overcast and COLD. Had tres layers of clothes on and was still cold. Mr. D's friend that we met in Leningrad and went to the disco with was the sweetest thing. She gave both A. and myself gifts. She gave A. a most gorgeous light blue lace collar and she gave me a BEAUTIFUL ballet book. It was so nice I

started to cry and so did A. The weird thing is we didn't even really know the lady, but it was so sad to think we would never see her again. I really love my book so much and will keep it forever. It is one of the neatest gifts I've ever received.

JENNIFER'S ESSAY ON HER TRIP TO THE USSR

I felt as though I was on a different planet and I was the alien. I felt like I was surrounded by people that had been tied up in fetters their entire lives, and had seen only "shadows on the walls." I saw people living in what I perceived as a restricting and colorless atmosphere. I wanted so badly to grab these people by the shoulders and tell them about the many things their lives were missing. I was feeling guilty because I thought I knew so much that they didn't. I wanted them to know small things, like what a normal lifestyle is like, what it's like to be able to walk down the street without having to look over your shoulder and what it's like to be able to trust another human. I saw people that were content with their lives simply because they didn't know of any other. I felt like I had so much more knowledge and wisdom. Basically, I felt superior.

But was I? When I was young and was told that a chair was green, I wouldn't say no it's blue. I believed what I was told as do the Russians. It would be impossible for me to shake my lifestyle into these people because in order for me to be able to do that they would have to be willing to hear me. Can you imagine all your life believing something and then being told you were wrong? Many times to keep your sanity you would close your ears and eyes and refuse to hear and see what is being said or shown. All my life I've been told grass is green. I've never really been given any proof of it, but I have no reason to believe otherwise. If somebody one day told me grass was blue I would think they were crazy. So aren't my fetters just as restricting as the Russians'? Who am I to judge whether any lifestyle is right or wrong? Maybe contrary to all I've been told, and have believed, without really questioning, my lifestyle is the wrong one. I do think I have the right to my opinion as to the one I prefer, but do I have the right to judge right from wrong? I guess I realized after my trip how little I know and also how important it is to be able to listen and take risks because by not listening or risking you'll never know what you're missing.

CHRISSIE'S DIARY OF A TRIP TO THE SOVIET UNION, SUMMER 1984

Friday: I am going to a country that I am supposed to hate, why am I so happy?...We are flying over the islands and the sea is all ripply and shimmery. How can it be that Pershing and Cruise missiles would fly over the same area?...When we got off the plane, I ran to hug M. We were jumping up and down and this lady standing next to the soldiers got very angry and pushed us onto the bus...We went through Passport Control. Soldiers very stern. They are so young! 16 year old soldiers? They looked through all my stuff, took out all my books and the book on Soviet authors they went bananas with. They ended up taking it away with my passport and visa. Finally, they came back and wrote on my white slip all about the book. They said I had to have it going back. Meaning if I lost it or something I would be in trouble. That really shook me up...

After dinner, M. and I left to go for a walk. Practically as soon as we left the hotel, people asked us to trade. M and I were hysterical—we couldn't understand anyone! We walked everywhere—if there was a passageway into a courtyard we went in. We were in one development - many apartments and there were grandmothers there with their grandchildren, they were so cute!...(met some young men)...they wanted to trade. I said we couldn't. Of course we both ended up trading our bags. They wanted everything—my batteries, my gum, pens, everything.

Saturday: When we got to the school, they had a program for us with a couple of people telling us about the Young Pioneers, the Komsomol and other things. Then they had these little 5th formers who read these essays on why they wanted peace. Most of them were shy and spoke very fast and quietly. Then we got to talk to the other kids. The girl loved English—to speak it, write it, anything. She told M. where the punks in Leningrad are. We talked about music and school and near the end I asked her what the Soviet people thought about the American people. She answered very quickly, "But there is no difference between the Soviet people and the government."

After lunch, we walked around a department store and then wandered aimlessly. We managed to buy bread at a bakery, posters at a bookstore and meatcakes off the street, all in Russian.

All the fathers were out with their children. It seems as if all Russian fathers take a lot of time to be with their children. I've seen more fathers than mothers!

The girl from Cyprus who M and I met earlier was waiting at the Hotel. She is a student of civil engineering. She has been here 5 years on scholarship. The first year she was so miserable that after only a week she asked for her passport back. They wouldn't give it to her until a year later. Without her visa, she couldn't even get to Moscow to the Syrian Consulate. She said the hostels where students live have 4 students to a room, 2 toilets to a floor and one kitchen per floor. In the USSR the intelligentsia make less money than the workers--therefore you have to be very dedicated to be a teacher. She said how little we saw of the realities of Soviet life. She said socialism is an ideal in theory, but impossible in reality. When you go shopping she says you have to be prepared to buy lots of one item in case it is not around for a long time.

THE RED SHOES

(from: An American in Leningrad by Logan Robinson, 1982)

The dark-skinned little girl Nancy lived with her mother in an American city.

Nancy's mother worked as a dishwasher in a restaurant and got home after midnight. But no matter how late her mother got home, Nancy always waited and did not go to bed without her.

Nancy's shoes had worn out. They were so worn out that even their neighbor, the shoemaker, Bill, couldn't do anything to fix them. The sole of the left shoe was entirely torn off, and the right one had such a gaping hole that one could see the toes of Nancy's foot.

In the morning, looking over what remained of her shoes, Nancy started to cry. "How am I going to go walking without shoes?" Her mother sighed heavily, "I will stay at work until morning...then, perhaps, I can manage to save enough money to buy you a new pair of shoes."

Until morning? Did that mean Nancy would be alone all night? But the desire to have new shoes was so strong that Nancy didn't pay any attention.

"Mama, buy me red shoes, you know, like the ones the little girl had that we saw in the park," she begged her mother. Her mother sighed again, "I don't know my little girl, if I'll be able to earn enough." However, Nancy so plaintively begged her mother to buy her the red shoes, without fail, that her mother at last promised.

On Nancy's mother's day off, they set out together for the shoe store. In the shiny plate-glass window of the store stood boots and shoes of all colors. Nancy was dazzled. She had never seen such elegant shoes. Suddenly, she cried out, "Mama, Mama, look: there they are--the red shoes. Let's go quickly, Mama, and buy them!"

They went into the store. One salesman was trying a pair of yellow shoes on a fair-headed snub-nosed little boy; the other salesman nonchalantly chattered away. The tall proprietor by the desk didn't even look over at the Negress with the little girl.

Nancy and her mother stood a long time by the counter. At last, Nancy's mother timidly requested, "Forgive me, please, wouldn't you be so kind as to show us a pair of red shoes for my little girl?"

One salesman reluctantly came over to them.

"These are expensive goods," he said. "Do you have enough money for such shoes?" The mother showed her purse. "There, sir; all last week I worked nights." Only then the salesman laid out on the counter a pair of red shoes. They were so soft, shone so nicely, smelled so of new leather that Nancy started clapping her hands.

The salesman growled, "You can try them on if you want."

He himself was supposed to try shoes on the customer, but he wouldn't dream of stooping for these black customers. The mother herself knelt down in front of Nancy and began to pull the shoes on her. But what a pity, they were too small.

"I wonder if you might, sir, have a bigger pair?" requested Nancy's mother. The salesman suddenly looked over at her. "A little larger? I have them. Only you have to take the pair you tried on." Nancy's mother rose from her knees.

Tuesday: Georgia (the Georgian Republic) is different because it is so peaceful. In Leningrad, it was beautiful but all the people wanted was your jeans and your dollars. People seem to interact here much more. A lady on the street asked for gum for her grandchild and she gave us all ice cream. In the airport, J. gave these soldiers peace buttons and they went out and bought her buttons in return...(meet young men). The troubles of the world made us fall apart. I felt like I would cry for days. These are Russians we might murder. This is the country that might go to war. This beautiful, peaceful republic—why?

--Wednesday: Peace committee. They take themselves very seriously in these committees. They were very friendly except a few of us got angry at the way Soviets always infer everything is the fault of the U.S. government. Someone asked why, if peace is the policy of the government, they need peace committees? The answer was that the peace committees were necessary in order to make direct contact with people in ways that government cannot... (meet guys).

--Sunday: Why do politics exist? People are people. If President Reagan had seen all the people out this last week—washing windows, scrubbing buildings, raking leaves, spreading gravel, turning the dirt in the flower beds, how could he still think the way he does? People here care about their city, their country, each other. Last Friday was the day everyone works for free—donating their time to the country. Last year, they built a health center with the money raised in Moscow.

I think what I will most remember about this country is the fathers in uniform walking with their daughters in the parks or teaching their children how to ride bicycles in Red Square, or the babushka who gave us fruit in the markets, ice cream in Tbilisi or hugs in Moscow, an old lady outside the peace committee who told us she loves us all, and if her son was there, "he would want us all." We all got slightly hysterical when she told us that, but she just stood there smiling.

"Take this pair?" she asked again. "But really, these shoes are too tight for the little girl." The salesman quietly wrapped up the shoes in paper. "And who would want to take these shoes, which were put on your black feet? You have to take these shoes from us." Nancy's mother clasped her hands. "My God, really all I have is enough for one pair. Does this mean my little girl must remain without shoes?" Hearing this, Nancy loudly started to cry. Her mother approached the proprietor of the store. "Sir," she appealed to him. "I implore you sir, don't make us buy these shoes. I don't have a spare cent, sir..."

"I don't want to incur a loss because of you," muttered the proprietor. "You should have known that after your little girl tried them on, not one American would buy these shoes for his children."

"You're wrong about that, proprietor," a loud, friendly voice suddenly resounded. A customer in blue working coveralls walked up to the counter and patted Nancy on the back. "You don't have to cry," little girl. Although the shoes you tried on were expensive, I'll take them anyway; they are perfectly suitable for my little girl and you yourself purchase other ones. I know well the meaning of hard-earned money." He pulled out of his pocket enough money, paid the salesman, and took up the package with the shoes. Then he bowed to Nancy's mother and walked out of the store.

Successfully and happily, Nancy and her mother returned home that day. The dark-skinned little girl rejoiced at her new red shoes, which squeaked quietly with each of her steps...

USA TODAY'S SPECIAL REPORTS FROM ABROAD Aug. 6, 1985

U.S.S.R.: Space station rescue under way

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union said Monday that two cosmonauts now aboard the Salyut-7 space station were sent there to save the space lab, which was drifting out of control after a total breakdown of the electrical system. Pravda said Salyut-7 had been adrift for more than three months when the two left June 6. The Soviets did not say when the pair would return.

USA Today

Comrades dry out

Soviets cut liquor sales up to 30%

A Soviet crackdown on drinking has cut alcohol sales by 20 to 30 percent, closed hundreds of liquor stores and left long lines at those still open.

The measures, imposed June 1, include raising the drinking age to 21 from 18, cutting sales hours — now from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. — and imposing harsher penalties for public drunkenness. It's aimed at curbing crime and absenteeism.

Moscow newspapers

have detailed how offenders caught drunk in public have been reprimanded, sacked and even expelled from the Communist Party.

Even officialdom is clamping down. Vodka toasts may be a tradition, but officials now refuse to drink before 2 p.m.; many visiting delegations are offered no drink at all.

A French delegation reportedly bought their own wine after attending several dry receptions.

Soviet Has 2,500 Addicts, Moscow U.N. Aide Reports

MOSCOW, May 28 (Reuters) — Eduard A. Babayan, Soviet representative on the United Nations Narcotics Commission, wrote in the weekly New Times today that the Soviet Union had 2,500 registered drug addicts, the first time such a figure has been made public.

He said there were no heroin, cocaine, LSD or amphetamine addicts, but did not specify the substances considered addictive.

New York Times

Blue Jeans and Rock: Pro and Con in Soviet

MOSCOW, May 22 (Reuters) — The Soviet Communist Party daily Pravda published a sharp clash of views today over Western fashions and rock music, with elderly readers calling for a strict ban and young ones telling them to keep quiet.

The newspaper said it received a flood of letters in response to an article last October in which it complained about people wearing Western jeans and United States flags on their shirts and listening to Western rock groups.

Many respondents said it was a disgrace for people to wear American emblems at a time when Washington is an ideological foe. "We must not allow the Stars and Stripes into our lives at this time," a university lecturer wrote.

BOSTON GLOBE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1982

Teacher arrested

MOSCOW — Soviet police arrested Oleg Radzinsky, 24, a member of an unofficial peace group, members of the group said yesterday. He was accused of teaching the works of banned authors. Radzinsky, a former literature student at Moscow University, will be tried under Article 70 of the Russian Federation criminal code covering anti-Soviet agitation, they said. (Reuter)

The Soviet Way

The Communist Party rules the country. The name Communist Party comes from the belief that the workers should own all land and factories *in common*. Actually everything is owned by the government, which is run by a few men. There is only one political party in the Soviet Union. No other is allowed. When other political parties have been started, they have been put down by force. Their leaders have been killed or sent into exile.

Therefore the Communist Party is the real government of the Soviet Union, even though the party has only about fourteen million members. This means that only one Soviet citizen out of every thirty-two is a member of this party. All the important government leaders are members of the party, and the party leader is also head of the Soviet government.

✓ Important understandings.

The people in the different republics of the Soviet Union are of many races and speak many languages. Some of them are Slavs, like the Russians, who are the largest single nation in the U.S.S.R. Some are Mongolian, and are closely related to the Chinese. Each group has its own language, its own customs, and its own schools. But the people in these republics are all ruled by the Communist Party and so have little freedom.

The spread of the Soviet way since the Second World War. Most European neighbors of the Soviet Union have been forced to set up Communist governments within their own borders. The people in these countries have not been allowed to choose their governments. Communist governments have been organized by a small group in each country with the aid of the Soviet Union.

The government of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is composed of a group of states. Although these states are called republics, they are not true republics, for they do not have representative government. Each republic is governed by a soviet, or council, and a committee of Communist Party leaders. The people can vote only for those chosen by the leaders of the Communist Party.

Over all states is the Supreme Soviet, elected by the soviets of the different states. This supreme council is controlled by party leaders. These leaders are really dictators.

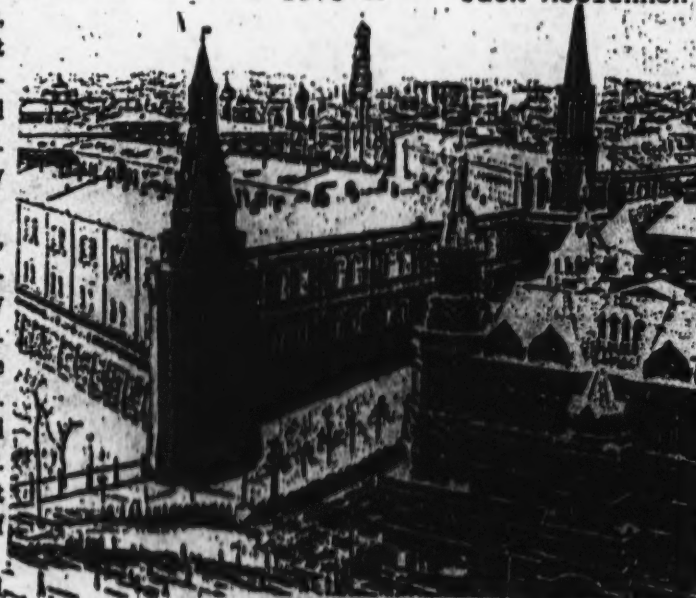
The old city of Moscow is the capital of the U.S.S.R. Find it on the map on page 276. The ancient Kremlin, or inner fortress and palace of the czars, still stands in Moscow. In this guarded fortress the Supreme Soviet meets. Here the party leaders and heads of government departments have their offices.

The Soviet way of life is very different from our way of life in the United States. The government of the U.S.S.R. has much more power over the lives of its people than our own government. It has complete control over newspapers and magazines and writers. It can stop them from printing anything it does not approve. People in the U.S.S.R. do not have freedom of speech. They are not allowed to say whatever they want to about their government and how it is run. If anyone criticizes or refuses to obey the orders of the party leaders he is put in prison or killed. These leaders run the government.

The government controls foreign trade and owns all industries and all land. It runs the mines, factories, banks, and communications systems. All goods must be sold through stores controlled by the state. Strikes are forbidden and workers are often shifted wherever they are needed, since they all are working for the government.

Our World: Inquiring and Learning
Ginn and Co., 1975 U

Jack McClennon



Many government buildings are in the Kremlin.



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Fodor's Travel Guide: Soviet Union 1984

Everyone is Big Brother's Keeper

Soviet people consider themselves their brother's keepers more than people in most other countries. Not only will a lost stranger be given directions, but on a crowded bus, Russians will helpfully make change and buy each other's bus tickets because conductors are rarely used. They will also publicly admonish each other's behavior when they think someone has stepped out of line and done something *nekulturny* (uncultured), such as wearing his coat in a theater or trying to jump a queue. Busybodies will stop a stranger to advise him to bundle up more warmly, or tell him not to sit on stone steps for fear he will catch cold.

The Russians at Play

But this public face is only half of the Russian personality. Meet Russians relaxing, at play or at home, and you find their brusqueness melts away. They are among the warmest, emotional and overwhelmingly hospitable people on earth. They can be as sentimental as the Irish, as straightforward as Americans, as garrulous as Italians. The reverse side of their public fatalism is an almost childish optimism that may account for their doting so on children. Russian families are small, largely out of economic necessity (though big families are common among Caucasian and Central Asian peoples), but on their one child, or sometimes two children, Russians lavish affection and the best clothes, toys and whatever else they can buy. In public, children may be sternly

disciplined; but at home, they are a spoiled, privileged class. Normally, the spoiling is done most by the *babushka*, the grandmother, who lives at home as a built-in baby-sitter and permanent member of the family.

Russians love a party and seize upon most holidays and even on the unexpected arrival of a stranger as a pretext. Frugality and planning ahead do not come naturally to them; they live for the moment. So when the occasion arises, they will throw an entire bonus or a huge chunk of pay—more than they can sensibly afford—into a single evening's hospitality and emotional Slavic self-indulgence. They may go out on the town with friends to a restaurant with a loud dance band and fling themselves into bouncy foxtrots, mazurkas, polkas and athletic mutations of the twist, the monkey or some rock-beat numbers, returning periodically to a table well fortified with vodka, cognac or sweet Soviet champagne to keep their party mood afloat. Or they may, as most seem to prefer, contribute ten or fifteen roubles a couple for a grand holiday feast, often around the kitchen table, which still maintains a place of central importance in Russian family life.

On such occasions, Russians abandon themselves to the orgy of feasting and drinking with a gusto that echoes the memory of times when food was not so plentiful. With advance warning, the women work for days preparing *zakuski*, the Russian *hors d'oeuvres* that are properly the most celebrated part of a Russian meal. *Zakuski* are never consumed without a string of good-natured and often long-winded toasts, each punctuated by everyone's gulping down a shot-glass of chilled vodka in one go. At such a feast anything and everything is washed down with vodka.

Even without numbing quantities of alcohol, a visitor can suddenly find himself included within a trusted circle of friends and warmed by roaring Russian hospitality. In cities like Paris or Rome, a foreigner could live for years without penetrating the full intimacy of a French or Italian home, but if luck creates the right circumstances, it can happen within hours in Russia.

When that occurs, the foreigner gains a glimpse of the great importance of friendships to the Russian, in whose life so much is governed by public authority and so little left to personal taste. It is perhaps understandable that Russians both give without moderation and expect others to respond in the same way. There is an intensity in their personal relationships that Westerners find both exhilarating and exhausting. For

Russians, when they finally open up, are looking for soul mates, not mere conversational partners. They may feel offended at the circumspection of Westerners, especially intellectuals given to careful reasoning and qualification, and make plain that what they long for is a personal commitment from friends that Westerners rarely accord to more than a very few people in life. With Russians, it is quite possible to enter into that intense intimacy and involvement even on the first meeting if the Russian feels he has found a soul brother, especially if there is vodka to cement the bond (though the morning-after often spawns emotional misgivings as well as physical hangovers).

It is this directness in the Russian character, this tendency to startling and direct openness that makes many Americans and some Britons feel that Russians are more like them in some essential way than are sophisticated continental Europeans, restrained Teutonic Germans or temperamental Latins. Russians call this trait of openness their broad spirit (*shirokaya dusha*) and count as one of the glories of life talking *dusha-dusha*—heart-to-heart, or literally, soul-to-soul.

Meet the Russians

The traveler need not actually visit a Soviet home to rub shoulders with Russians and gain personal exposure to them. Almost any big Soviet city has a collective farmers' market where housewives go to haggle over such staples of Russian life as potatoes, cabbages and pickled cucumbers, or to buy more exotic items flown by the suitcase-load to northern cities by canny, individualistic peasants from southern regions who know they can clear a handsome profit by traveling on low-cost jets to regions where fresh fruits and vegetables are in short supply. In winter, prices on tomatoes or fresh fruits in Moscow can go as high as on room service at the Ritz.

Another good place to mingle with Russians is at restaurants, especially on weekends and if there is a dance band. Unless Intourist puts you in a special banquet room or at a reserved table segregated from Soviet guests, local restaurants follow the European practice of using every available seat and putting strangers together at tables. In that situation, any Russian who is asked to pass the salt and understands even a few words of a foreign language will start to open up, and if you get to showing them pictures of your children, they will probably produce a snapshot of theirs for you.

Few public places rival Soviet trains for meeting strangers and getting an immediate feel of Russian life. Although Russians normally contain their emotions in public, they are greatly moved by farewells. Their railway stations thus become great scenes of hugging, sobbing, parting advice, and promises to write, that are so intense and personal that onlookers are simply ignored. Once aboard a long-distance or overnight train—quite a comfortable and pleasant way to travel in the USSR—Russians fall naturally into a communal feeling, especially among those who go second class. (Foreigners usually travel first class, two to a compartment, in accommodations used mostly by government or public enterprise officials or educated people, segregated from the great mass but also more likely to know a foreign language.) In second class, four to a cabin, the more ordinary folk doff their street clothes and the men immediately don blue warm-up suits that they use for train pyjamas and general wear.

On a long trip, Russians will arrive with a great quantity of luggage and odd-shaped bundles, at least one of which contains food. In no time at all, they break out sausage, cheese, cucumbers and the dark bread for which Russia is justly famous. To drink, they normally have watery Soviet beer or overly-sweet, carbonated, fruit-flavored soft drinks. The foreign visitor who has had the forethought to provision himself with a bit of food, beer, or better yet, a small bottle of vodka from his hotel, will have an instant introduction that will make him quick friends. Much the same occurs in the dining car over *borsch* (beet soup) or *shchi* (cabbage soup) or *solyanka* (meat or fish soup) served in metal, cafeteria-style bowls, if one shares his beer or wine. The offer to share food and break bread together is almost certain to lead to a conversational exchange.

Under most circumstances, both similarities and differences will emerge. Like Americans and Britons, Russians are great sports fans, probably even more nationalistically enthusiastic about their teams than most Westerners. The Soviets play to win, and hate to lose. Russians generally love the outdoors, especially their birch woods and pine forests, largely as a relief from cramped housing in overcrowded cities. From train windows or from a car driving through big cities, the traveler can see the Russians in summer playing an impromptu game of volleyball, browsing for mushrooms in the woods in autumn, or darting off on cross-country skis among the sun-dappled birches on a bright day in January.

• Students decide what to do about a group of boys who went swimming unsupervised

Around the large table, covered with a deep-red cloth, sit the elected members of the Council

There are thirteen of them, nine girls and four boys, representing all classes from the fifth grade upward.

Ironically, Ivanov, as commander in the fifth grade class, is a member of the group. After completing the routine totaling of class points for the weekly standings in interclass competition in behavioral excellence, the Council turns to its special business. Ivanov is asked to stand and tell the group what he has done. The answer is barely audible, "I went swimming."

As his answers are written down by the secretary, a girl asks: "You and who else?"

He names seven others.

Second girl: "Fine thing, you the commander leading your men."

A boy: "Do you realize that last year a child drowned in that very pond?"

The questions and accusations continue, mostly from the girls. The major effort is two-sided: first, to impress Ivanov with the fact that, in violating the rule, he had jeopardized the lives of his classmates as well as his own; second, that his act constituted a betrayal of the faith invested in him as a Pioneer commander. Ivanov is now speechless. He trembles slightly and is struggling to hold back the tears. The direction of questions shifts: "Who suggested the idea of going swimming in the first place?" Silence. "Was it you?" Ivanov shakes his head. "Then who was it?" No answer.

One of the older girls speaks up. She is a ninth-grader and already a *Komsomolka*, or member of the Young Communist League. "All right, Ivanov, if you won't tell us, how would you like it if your whole class doesn't get to go on our five-day camporee next week?"

Someone suggests punishing just the boys. Now the male council members, who have said very little, raise an objection. The full collective is responsible for the conduct of its members, they say. Besides, they argue, punishing only the boys would set up a division between the sexes, and that is against Communist principles!

It is the adult leader who eases the pressure. Although his voice is stern, the effect of his remarks is to set aside one of the severe suggestions: "This is certainly a serious matter. I would recommend that all eight of the offenders be placed on strict probation for the coming week, and if any one of them deviates so much as a jot or a tittle from the code of proper conduct, he will be deprived of the privilege of attending the camporee."

The Council accepts the suggestion but in its final decision adds two further penalties. All the boys look up as sentence is passed in solemn instruction by Nadya, the Council President: "Ivanov, first of all, it is your responsibility to see to it that beginning on Monday, neither you nor any of your men are to wear your Pioneer kerchiefs." The President continues, "Second, during the coming week, while you are on probation, each of you is to carry out an extra work assignment by watering all the newly planted trees on the school grounds every day. Finally, before you go home this evening, all of you can scrub down and wax the floor in the school assembly."

Two Worlds of Childhood: US and USSR
by Urie Bronfenbrenner 1972

Class 3-B

Two monitors at the desk silently observe the class. On their faces is reflected the full importance and seriousness of the job they are performing. But there is no need for them to make any reprimands: the youngsters with pleasure and pride maintain scrupulous discipline; they are proud of the fact that their class conducts itself in a manner that merits the confidence of the teacher. And when the teacher enters and quietly says to be seated, all understand that she deliberately refrains from praising them for the quiet and order, since in their class it could not be otherwise. . . .

During the lesson, the teacher gives an exceptional amount of attention to collective competition between "links." Throughout the entire lesson the youngsters are constantly hearing which link has best prepared its lesson, which link has done the best at numbers, which is the most disciplined, which has turned in the best work.

The best link not only gets a verbal positive evaluation but receives the right to leave the classroom first during the break and to have its notebooks checked before the others. As a result, the links receive the benefit of collective education, common responsibility, and mutual aid.

"What are you fooling around for? You're holding up the whole link," whispers Kolya to his neighbor during the preparation period for the lesson. And during the break he teaches her how to organize better the books and pads in her knapsack.

"Work more carefully," says Olya to her girl friend. "See, on account of you, our link got behind today. You come to me and we'll work together at home."¹⁸

Here is a typical picture. It is the beginning of the lesson. In the first row the link leader reports, basing his comments on information submitted by the sanitarian and other responsible monitors: "Today Valodya did the wrong problem. Masha didn't write neatly and forgot to underline the right words in her lesson; Alyosha had a dirty shirt collar."

The other link leaders make similar reports [the Pioneers are sitting by rows].

The youngsters are not offended by this procedure: they understand that the link leaders are not merely tattle-telling, but simply fulfilling their duty. It doesn't even occur to the monitors and sanitarians to conceal the shortcomings of their comrades. They feel that they are doing their job well precisely when they notice one or another defect.¹⁹

Also in the third grade, the teacher introduces still another procedure. She now proposes that the children enter into competition with the monitors, and see if they can beat the monitor at his own game by criticizing themselves.

The results were spectacular: if the monitor was able to talk only about four or five members of the row, there would be supplementary reports about their own shortcomings from as many as eight or ten pupils.²⁰

Nor does the process of social criticism and control stop with school. Our manual tells us that parents are asked to submit periodic reports to the school collective on the behavior of the child at home.

Condensed from

HARPER'S MAGAZINE

RUSSIAN WINTER

GEORGE FRIFTER

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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IN Moscow, from October through February, the average daily sunshine is one hour and 15 minutes—compared, for example, with “foggy” London’s 2½ hours. From November through January, it is 52 minutes daily. And a fresh dusting of snow seems to fall every few hours, often pushed into faces by raw winds blowing in from the steppes. Yet no matter how many roads it closes and roofs it crushes, snow is child’s play compared with the chief curse and main enemy: cold so severe that, as one saying has it, birds freeze in flight.

The difference between Russian cold and the cold that one has known elsewhere, and even enjoyed, lies in the accumulation of hard days and hostile effects. It is the difference between hope and immutability.

The ordeal of a Russian winter. *Russkaya zima*, is not merely a longer, darker, crueler span of time than that which annually slows the countries of Northern Europe and America. It is a life sentence to hardship that prowls near the center of the Russian consciousness, whatever the time of year. As a prime cause and a symbol of Russia’s fate, it molds an attitude toward life.

Russian peasants muster that winter “has a belly on him like a priest, who brought forth nothing from the land, but settled himself at their tables and expected to eat his fill.” This voracious feeder arrives early, stays late, exhausts mind, body and nerves. In *Russians as People* (Dutton), Britain’s Wright Miller, a close observer of the Russian character, sighs, “Griedy, exhausting winter plants himself

across Russia as the great waster and consumer—eating away hard-won stores of food and fuel, burning away energy, patience, imagination and the very breath of the people huddled around earthen stoves.”

Foreigners who visit Russia in June, July or August, as most tourists and businessmen do—miss the nation’s primary angles of vision. During the blissful but fleeting interval when delicate northern green decorates drab cities and the scourge of ponderous clothing is miraculously lifted from shoulders and moods, Russians are likely to seem “pretty much like us.”

But the leafy days of warmth and freedom are numbered like secret documents. Impatient winter is rarely made to wait long. In Moscow, snow is not unknown in August. The first lasting frosts, however, appear in late September. The trees are now entirely bare. For seven months, the only foliage, apart from much-loved house plants, will be the dark mantle of the firs. Prefabricated apartment buildings look like cell blocks against the gunmetal sky.

In October, cold rains issue from grim clouds during the day, and the nasty wet freezes overnight. The nearly eight million people who push and plod through Moscow searching for necessities are already in the quilted jackets that will be buttoned around them for most of their waking hours until spring. By the end of the month people are edgy and morose. It is as if the planet has entered some cosmic dismalness.

From November on, few but the political and cultural elite will eat fresh food until spring, except as a holiday treat. Outside Moscow and Leningrad, the monotony of diet and the unhealthfulness—for this surely helps spread the annual influenza epidemics—are far worse. Meat can be virtually unobtainable, and fresh fruit and vegetables, apart from autumn cabbage and carrots, are invisible. The prima

ballerina of Perm, an industrial center in the Urals, queues until her feet freeze for a few stunted scalions to supply the vitamins she needs on her performance days.

By mid-December, Russians are weary of their cross. Even the most padded worker hurries to the fire as often as he can. Goods are handled with winter’s sloth and clumsiness. Overcoats smell of years of wet and dust. A solid plane of cloud presses remorselessly on the earth. Icicles hanging from cornices and rain gutters seem part of some sinister ancient architecture.

Like labor-camp inmates, the population is treated to occasional cherished gifts. A bright day is polished turquoise; the sparkling air scrubs your lungs; the sun on the snow’s crust makes you smile. The sight of Russian children on such days is enchanting. Bundled from head to foot, recognizable as human forms only by the scarves knotted around their necks, they have the red noses and red cheeks of dolls, the squealing laughter, as they pat their snowmen, of forgotten innocence. But such picture-post-card days are as rare as roses in January.

By February, shoulders ache from the weight of the incapable overcoat. Beyond this palpable weariness lurks a general fatigue produced by the permanent tension of struggling in vain. Now you trudge resentfully through the besieged streets, conscious at each step that this is a land of struggle and hardship. And of procrastination: like so many others, you are less and less willing to take on the dirty ice. You postpone again what you had resolved to accomplish and stay put in your warm shabby nook.

In the desolate villages, lost somewhere in the mist, millions of farmers are not only idling in their huts, but have kept to their beds for warmth. Said an uncommonly honest collective-farm chairman,

describing his winter nights to a foreign friend, “There I am, with one, two, four, ten, twelve glasses of beer before me. And I am *thinking, thinking, thinking.*”

Although some inhabited places are farther north on the map and actually as cold, Russia’s numbing heritage of isolation and backwardness makes it more frozen. Russia remains psychologically the most northern of nations.

Thanks at least in part to their climate, Russians perceive the outside world as hostile, and yet enviable too. Going deeper, what is usually shrugged off as “bad luck” can also be seen as punishment; like handicapped children, Russians feel they are “not like the others,” and tend to blame themselves for the stigma and hardship.

Much as people living under wartime stress, Russians radiate a powerful we’re-in-this-pickle-together fellowship. The greater harshness of winter existence strengthens trust among those who feel it, adds importance and intensity to the “stolen” moments of escape, heightens enjoyment of a luckily procured bag of oranges and of evenings of emotional exchange.

But soothing as it can be to the ubiquitous ache of Russian life, this freer inner life hardly compensates for the political and economic liabilities that accompany it, for all these nothing-really-matters qualities ultimately stem from a conviction that no lasting liberty can be won from the controlling forces. We are doomed, whatever we do.

Russian winter is the song of Russian life: submit, you lost lambs, to your fate of inexplicable hardship. Nothing fundamental will change until the psychic yoke of Russian winter is lifted from this people’s outlook, and they surrender the belief that they have been wronged.

V. A College/University Approach and Bibliography

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

SEEKING COMMON GROUND

by Profs. Marilyn Raack and Jim Bixler, California ESR

Level: College-University Departments of Education, History, Social Science
Professional Education: Teacher Education Programs/Inservice
Course/Workshops
Community Education: Parents, Religious Groups, Other Adults
High School

Time period: Three class periods, or three hours.

Objectives. Audience will:

- understand contemporary issues in the context of their historical and current complexities.
- under the implications of contemporary issues for the future.
- become familiar with modes of conflict resolution, including ways of:

- establishing common ground
- perspective taking
- cooperative dialogue
- making reasoned judgments
- choosing appropriate action consonant with one's values
- use these understandings to teach their students how to process information and communicate effectively with others on issues that deeply divide us
- explore ways of dealing with others who differ in their views of: how to avoid nuclear war

Rationale.

An understanding of significant contemporary controversial issues - such as national security in the nuclear age - is crucial to the development of the kind of participatory decision making our democracy requires. Teachers need to facilitate the attainment of this goal by students. This lesson addresses the issue of national security in the nuclear age, including the teaching of modes of conflict resolution.

Lesson Objectives.

1. To explore how it feels to take various positions on avoiding nuclear war, including:
 - a: "Hawk" position--Peace-through-strength/military superiority

- b: "Dove" position--Freeze and parity, disarmament and cooperation with USSR
- c: "Owl" position
- d. An observer-listener to each position described and defended.

2. To generalize that some of the common ground we seek is within us and that we can discover it through cooperative dialogue. (This should be the outcome of finding that each of us, while identifying, in general, with one of these positions agrees with some points in the other position.)

3. To prepare for US-USSR summit discussions.

Methods and Materials.

1. Present Objective 1 to group as an exercise in role-playing, in which each person will play each of the roles in rotation with two others. Share the rationale with the group. Rules are to:

- a. listen and try to believe proposition being advocated
- b. ask only questions of clarification or information-seeking
- c. search for areas of agreement with the other positions

Distribute information. (See #6)

2. Number off by threes - play each position for approximately three minutes while observer listens to both. Observer then comments for two minutes on authenticity, listening skills, and neutral questioning strategies used.

3. Rotate until all have had a turn at each role.

4. Give each group a chance to generalize and to contribute generalization to a list, if time permits. (Approximately one-half hour)

5. After each threesome has rotated each member through the roles, debrief with questions such as:

- a. How did it feel to take the role of hawk, dove, owl, observer? Differences? Similarities?
- b. What helped persuade you one way or the other? Did you modify your original position?
- c. What things did you find you could agree on with the other position? (common ground)

6. The teacher can use information cards with selected elements of each position, or let students draw on their own information, depending on the knowledge base of group members.

7. Present Objective 2 in question form: What can you generalize from this experience in regard to where common ground lies and how we can discover it? (This should be the outcome of finding that common ground is within us and can be discovered by cooperative dialogue; that is, that each of us, while identifying, in general, with one of the three positions, agrees with some points in the other positions.)

Information on Position A (Hawk).

"In the hawk's view, deterrence might fail because of an aggressor's calculation of weakness. The remedy the hawk advocates is to enhance the threat of retaliation by increasing military strength." The hawk worries that the approach of the doves will lead to "appeasement."

- U.S.S.R aggression is continuous because of constantly upgrading weapons and military strategy against others - can be documented.
- U.S. must improve its strategic posture to achieve and maintain parity.
- U.S. must respond to any level of large-scale conventional or nuclear aggression to prevent nuclear war.
- Immoral and bad politics not to support the American president in fight against Communism.
- U.S. must continue to develop capability to target against prime military targets in Communist block.
- At the same time, U.S. must pursue civil defense and ABM defense arrangements.
- U.S. cannot rely on deterrence alone, developed over two decades ago, to keep the peace, but must demonstrate strength and toughness toward the U.S.S.R.

Information on Position B (Dove).

Doves worry that the increase in strength, undertaken by hawks in the name of deterrence, may slide into "provocation." In other words, "deterrence might fail because of the hawk's error of provocation. Opponents threatened by an arms buildup might feel compelled to risk a preemptive strike in order to prevent inevitable defeat later. The dove's remedy is conciliation and reassurance."

- Emphasis on weapons and associated strategies is misplaced.
- Origin of war and reasons for resorting to it must be changed.
- Social injustices and inequalities within and between nations must be redressed to avoid continued strife.
- Leaders and parties can win mass support by proposing to correct injustice through methods other than a resort to violence and war.
- Proliferation of nuclear weapons and expanding gap between rich and poor nations accelerates the dangers of war.
- Don't devote massive resources to preserving an unequal system; direct resources toward improving opportunity for all peoples and reduce social injustice.

Information on Position C (Owl).

The owl "worries about nonrational factors and the possibility of loss of control in a crisis situation. Owls believe that crises or conventional war could create an environment for unintended nuclear war.

- concerned with the inadvertent causes of war.
- do not believe that deterrence based on a threat of nuclear

holocaust "will succeed forever in avoiding major nuclear war."

Eventual failure in some form seems assured.

- urge an intensification of the search for alternatives to deterrence, such as "gradually transforming the nature of the relationship between the U.S. and the Soviet Union."
- reduce factors that would "degrade rationality as stress mounts and time is compressed during a crisis."
- avoid crises and increase controls; enhance crisis stability.
- maintain a credible deterrent.
- obtain a credible conventional deterrent.
- reduce the impact of accidents.
- develop procedures for war termination.
- prevent and manage crises.
- invigorate nonproliferation efforts.
- limit misperceptions.
- pursue arms control negotiations.
- reduce reliance on nuclear deterrence over the long run.

Evaluation: Were objectives achieved in view of participants?
(Reaction sheet could be used) (Approximately ten minutes)

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR COLLEGE/UNIVERSITY - ADULT

Three criteria were used in selecting the following books for inclusion in this bibliography.

First, some of these books directly address the concept of "finding common ground." Second, many focus on the first stage in the process of finding common ground: that is, acquiring an accurate perception of another group or nation, who they are, and how they view issues. Finally, finding common ground involves understanding the strongest and best arguments in differing positions. Some of the titles below, therefore, are included because they marshal evidence in a particularly astute way for and against arms control at this critical historical moment. We offer this third category not in order to further dichotomize the public policy debate, but rather to help readers clarify opposing points of view.

Beyond the Hotline: How We Can Prevent the Crisis That Might Bring on a Nuclear War. William L. Ury. Houghton Mifflin, 1985. \$14.95. 175 pp. The author is director of Harvard's Nuclear Negotiation Project. In 1984 he was asked by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to assist in the preparation of a report on how to control or prevent an acute crisis between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. That report forms the basis of this book, which presents a practical approach to crisis control.

Most specialists agree that the most likely trigger for a nuclear war is the escalation of a "hot spot," such as the Berlin Airlift of 1948, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, or the 1983 Korean Air Lines Flight 007, rather than a deliberate provocation or strike. For this reason, more attention is being focused on the establishment of previously agreed upon, bilateral safety procedures that could help prevent a "nuclear Sarajevo."

Using the analogy of a fire, Ury presents his rationale for preventing such "sparks from igniting a fire." To this end, Ury proposes jointly staffed U.S./Soviet Crisis Control Centers in Moscow and Washington. These centers would have apparatus such as video teleconferencing and shared computer systems already in place. These procedures could "reduce dangerous uncertainty," reinforce communication, save time, and provide "options for stepping back from the brink of war."

This material on crisis control would make an excellent piece of a larger study of negotiation. Students might well ask, "But what about the hotline?" a question that perfectly points up the technological hairtrigger now requiring a more sophisticated safety valve than merely an ad lib conversation between civilian leaders.

The Effects of Nuclear War. Office of Technology Assessment. U.S. Congress. Prepared jointly by the Departments of Defense and Energy. Available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. 1979. \$6.50. One of the most complete and authoritative sources about the probable impact on American and Soviet communities of nuclear attack. Because of its publication date, however, it does not include the findings on "nuclear

winter," and teachers are urged to supplement it with one of the several documents about nuclear winter currently available.

The Fate of the Earth. Jonathan Schell. Knopf, 1982. Paper, \$2.50. Schell's book has been called the most important book of the decade. Some see it as the single factor most responsible for public involvement in nuclear issues. But some critics think that Schell's writing is hysterical and apocalyptic. Schell writes eloquently, if redundantly, about the implications of nuclear weapons for the future of the planet. Part I, "A Republic of Insects and Grass," is particularly compelling and can be used alone as a high school / college / adult classroom text.

The Effects on the Atmosphere of a Major Nuclear Exchange. National Research Council. 1984. \$14.50. National Academy Press, Rm. 700, 2100 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20118. A private organization that is an arm of the National Academy of Sciences, the NRC investigates questions of science and technology at the request of the Federal Government. In this report, funded by the Pentagon, the committee basically corroborates the findings of the TTAPS study on nuclear winter. The report concludes that there is a "clear possibility" that a major nuclear exchange could produce enough smoke and dust to cause severe temperature drops over much of the earth's northern temperate zone, lasting from weeks to months. However, because of its belief that large uncertainties in knowledge still exist, the committee also states that "accurate detailed accounts" of such effects are not reliable.

Foreign Affairs. Fall, 1985. \$4.95. 200 pp. The first 75 pages of this issue of Foreign Affairs is devoted to a discussion of the summit. There are articles by Richard Nixon (a shorter version of his article appears in this packet), Adam Ulam (Director, Harvard Russian Research Center), Jerry Hough (Duke University), and Marshall Goldman (Associate Director, Harvard Russian Research Center).

Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In. Roger Fisher and William Ury. The Harvard Negotiation Project. Penguin Books, 1981, 1983. \$5.95. 161 pp. A classic, readable book about the method of principled negotiation, or negotiation on the merits, a "practical method for negotiating agreement amicably without giving in...getting to yes without going to war." The authors' premise is that in some way - discussing a raise, agreeing on the terms of a lease or a price, selling a house, settling a contract, talking with children about how much television they can watch, a couple deciding where to vacation - everyone is a negotiator every day. "Negotiation...is a back-and-forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and the other side have some interests that are shared and others that are opposed."

But it is not easy to do negotiation well. The classic negotiating "minuet," which involves "haggling," in the view of the authors, because it "depends upon successively taking - and then giving up - a sequence of positions, is one in which "Each side takes a position, argues for it, and makes concessions to reach a compromise." There is another way to negotiate, the method of principled negotiation." This method embodies a new way of thinking about resolving conflicts: win - win, rather than win - lose.

Hawks, Doves, and Owls: An Agenda for Avoiding Nuclear War. Graham T. Allison, Albert Carnesale, Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (The Avoiding Nuclear War Project, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University). Norton, 1985. \$14.95. The "owlish" ideas presented in this book derive from pieces of common ground for the prevention of nuclear war in the positions of both hawks and doves.

The authors believe that due to the increased numbers of nuclear weapons on hairtrigger alert, the possibility of a nuclear war caused by human or machine accident or miscommunication has also increased. This development threatens the success of deterrence, in the view of the authors, and has led them in this book to analyze five hypothetical paths that increase the possibility or probability of nuclear war between the superpowers. In their final "agenda for action" they identify practical, specific steps that could be taken to reduce that likelihood, steps that reflect their concern with the inadvertent causes of war, not the deliberate, cold-blooded ones.

Living With Nuclear Weapons. The Harvard Nuclear Study Group. Introduction by Derek Bok. Harvard University Press. Bantam New Age Books, Inc., 666 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10103. 1983. Paper, \$3.95. 288 pp. Commissioned by the President of Harvard to do this study, the authors are Harvard scholars with significant arms control experience in various administrations. While the writers claim that their book is an "objective account of the basic facts about nuclear arms control [that presents] the various issues, proposals and arguments for and against each position," the title of the book better indicates their limited, technocratic arms control perspective: that is, they offer a somewhat narrow range of views and omit consideration of psychological aspects of the nuclear arms race.

Nevertheless, this book should not only be read by, but also used with students precisely because it does represent some of the strongest conventional thinking about nuclear weapons. It also provides accurate information on the nature, extent, and quality of nuclear weapons; a sound historical review of how these arsenals have been amassed; and an informative discussion of how nuclear war might break out. It might be particularly instructive, in order to mount a balanced presentation, to use parts of this book in the high school / college / adult classroom in conjunction with parts of Schell's Fate of the Earth or Dyson's Weapons and Hope.

Nuclear Arms and National Security. National Issues Forum. Prepared for the Domestic Policy Association by the Public Agenda Foundation. 43 pp. Available from ESR. \$3.00 plus \$2.50 p/h. This is an exceptional resource / curriculum for college or adult study groups because it provides a truly balanced discussion of what can be done to decrease the risk of nuclear war without jeopardizing the nation's security. (Its approach, if not its complete text, may be adapted for use in High school.) The booklet is concise without being superficial or simplistic, and informative and accurate without being overly technical.

The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age. George F. Kennan. Pantheon Books. 1982. 208 pp. Paper, \$4.95. Kennan's book places the US-USSR relationship into a vital historical

perspective. As a result, the ability to render events as the Soviets perceive them, is the singular educational value of this book by America's pre-eminent Soviet expert. A collection of Kennan's writing and thoughts about Soviet-American relations over several decades, the book is superb for college/university/adult education and background. Because Kennan nearly singlehandedly wrote the policy of containment, which was to the 1950s what deterrence theory has been to succeeding decades, his sober voice is critical for acquiring an understanding of how the Soviet Union thinks and sees, an absolute prerequisite to the search for common ground.

Peace and World Order Studies: A Curriculum Guide. Fourth Edition. Barbara J. Wien, ed. World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. \$14.95. Paperback. 740 pp. This new edition is probably the most comprehensive guide to world order inquiry in the field. Both comprehensive and detailed, the book is a collection of current, major curriculum programs in "peace studies" in undergraduate colleges and universities. It provides for educators and scholars a wealth of course outlines, topics, readings, thought-provoking assignments, and resources. The courses included, emphasizing the new ways of thinking necessitated by global transformations in the interdependence of world economies and military spheres, reflect the major and vital differences between the "old" and the "new" peace studies in goals, focus, and approaches.

The book provides 116 detailed course plans and syllabi of undergraduate courses on a range of topics, such as hunger, underdevelopment, war and militarism, overpopulation, human rights, depletion of natural resources, pollution of the environment, and nuclear proliferation. This range derives from the editor's premise that what is needed today is an education with a three-fold aim.

First, it must seek to comprehend the "real sources of violent conflict in the world," defined as inequality, oppression, poverty, and maldistribution of resources, among others. Second, it must identify the gaps between the revolution in contemporary physics and our understanding of the political ramifications of this revolution. In other words, it must identify the ways in which the nuclear age has rendered obsolete such previous political conceptualizations as war, ideology, international conflict, and the nation state, and how we can transform our thinking in these areas. Finally, it must consider the development of international competencies-- a whole range of new problem-solving skills and attitudes -- as urgent, not merely as desirable. In short, the goal of the new peace studies is to create a more global perspective, and nearly every program in this curriculum guide emphasizes this perspective.

The new focus of these courses reflects its new goals. The curriculum is becoming globalized, and just in time. Peace studies is nudging into the educational mainstream. Curriculum material related to war and peace; the infusion of a world-mindedness perspective into many disciplines; this book makes it clear that these actions are now essential. In turn, these goals and focus require a multidisciplinary approach.

The range and diversity of viewpoints in this collection generally support the editor's claim that while instructional programs in peace studies are explicitly value-laden -- these a priori values include

peace, economic well-being, social justice, and ecological balance and stability - they also fulfill the task of good education: "to open minds, not to close them."

Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities. Stephen F. Cohen. Norton, 1985. 160 pp. \$12.95. A collection of Princeton Professor Cohen's columns for The Nation since October, 1982, this book attempts to provide a balance to what he sees as "inadequate [American] press coverage" of the Soviet Union and American-Soviet relations.

In his Introduction Cohen describes the purposes of his Nation columns as first, "an experiment in scholarly journalism." As an academic Sovietologist, he wanted to "adapt scholarly perspectives to journalism ... to narrow the distance between scholarship and journalism." Cohen's second purpose, "to replace gray stereotypes with multicolored realities; and thus to help readers achieve a better understanding," is the reason that this book is particularly valuable for those seeking areas of common ground in the U.S.-Soviet relationship. Of special interest for the issue of educational balance is that Cohen has apparently been accused by some of being an apologist for the Soviet Union, yet has been denied a visa.

A Strategy for Peace Through Strength. American Security Council, Boston, VA. Paper, \$4.95. Also a videocassette of a 25 min. TV documentary based on the book, \$50.00, 1/2" and 3/4" VHS, 1/2" Beta. Written to "lay the intellectual base for [the American Security Council's] 'in defense of America' campaign, this book polarizes the terms of the nuclear predicament as peace through appeasement vs. peace through strength. The book's objective, endorsed by President Reagan as an "essential ... guide on how to expand democracy throughout the world," is to offer the U.S. a "sound strategy for putting Marxist-Leninist communism on the ash-heap of history."

The book has two basic premises: that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have "irreconcilable views of the nature of human existence" and that "the goal of the Soviet Union has always been to rule the world." To meet this perceived threat, the authors advocate not only a nuclear weapons buildup, but also the building of a civil defense program and a space-based defense. Ultimately, the goal of the ASC is to help the Soviet people first, to undermine and then, to transform their society from within.

Survival Is Not Enough: Soviet Realities and America's Future. Richard Pipes. Simon & Schuster, 1985. 302 pp. \$16.95. A respected academic Harvard historian, former director of the Harvard Russian Research Center, and influential Reagan Administration advisor, Pipes argues in this book that the Soviet intention to "bury us" derives inexorably not only from the dictates of Marxism's theoretical logic, but also from the Russian character and history. Pipes contends that the West "ought to assist those economic and political forces which are at work inside the Communist Bloc undermining the system..." Pipes is also well-known for his article "Why the Soviet Union Thinks It Can Fight and Win a Nuclear War," Commentary, July, 1977.

Weapons and Hope. Freeman Dyson. Harper, 1984. 341 pp. Princeton physicist Dyson writes "because I live in two worlds - the world of the warriors and the world of the victims - and I am possessed by an

immodest hope that I may improve mankind's chances of escaping the horrors of a nuclear holocaust if I can help these two worlds to understand each other...I know that there are not two separate worlds but only one...My task is to explain them to each other..."

Dyson models this dialogue by his ability to enter completely into differing world views, assumptions, and ways of thinking about nuclear weapons. His discussion is informed by exquisite rationality without the sacrifice of values or emotional commitment. The "hope" of the title is his faith that we can find practical solutions to a way out. For many readers, the most important section of the book will undoubtedly be Part IV, "The Quest for Concept," in which Dyson examines seven strategic nuclear doctrines in order to define one "that may offer the world hope of escape from the trap into which reliance on nuclear weapons has led it."

Weapons in Space. The New York Times. Sunday, March 3, 1985 and ff. Six outstanding and comprehensive articles by a series of Times' writers on "Star Wars," the non-nuclear, space-based "defense" system that President Reagan has named the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). These articles serve as an excellent teaching resource. Some of the writing is more balanced than other pieces. Of particular interest is the article that traces the history of the SDI idea.

VI. Activities for Professional Development and Community Education

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

NUCLEAR AGE EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM?

by Marilyn Raack and Jim Bixler, Marin County, CA/ESR

Level: Professional Development and Community Education

This activity is a model for leading a dialogue with community groups such as PTAs or for use with prospective and practicing teachers in professional development groups, such as in-service programs, workshops, faculty meetings.

Objectives: Teachers, prospective teachers, parents, and other citizens will:

- clarify their preferred position regarding the inclusion / exclusion of nuclear age education in the school curriculum.
- develop a rationale to support curriculum decisions.
- compare and contrast own preferred rationale with others, identifying areas of agreement/disagreement.
- try for consensus regarding statements concerning students, society, and role of school curriculum in teaching about nuclear age education.

Rationale. The willingness and ability to develop a rationale to support curriculum decisions is critical in a society where conflicting demands are constantly being made on the schools.

Methods and Materials.

In the first part of the lesson, the emphasis is on interpretation of position statements with the need to rank order them in keeping with own personal values. This examination requires values clarification and setting of priorities. The second part is an identification of similarities and differences in viewpoints. The third part strives toward common ground.

Materials: "Nine Statements on the Teaching of Nuclear Arms in Public Schools." John Zola, Junior High Classroom Teacher, Boulder, Colorado, 1983. Nuclear Arms Education in Secondary Schools, Wingspread Conference Report, February, 1985, pp. 10-13.

Enough copies of these statements, ranking form, and group-ranking form for a class set. (See attached)

Procedure: (45 minutes - 1 hour)

1. Read and rank order the nine statements, using ranking form.
2. Move into small groups and tally a composite score for each of the nine statements. Identify areas of agreement (noticeably high and low totals) and areas of disagreement (totals in the middle). Use group-ranking form.
3. Seek consensus and common ground statements about group assumptions regarding students, the nature of our society, and the role of the schools in teaching about nuclear issues.

Evaluation: Oral or written statements from the participants that show, in the judgment of the instructor, that they can express a consistent point of view to support their position regarding the teaching of nuclear age education.

Appendix I: Building a Rationale for Nuclear Arms Education

by John Zola, Junior High Classroom Teacher, Boulder, Colorado, 1983

Nine Statements on the Teaching of Nuclear Arms in Public Schools

A. The study of nuclear war simply does not belong in our public schools. Any curriculum devoted to this topic will only frighten impressionable young people who have few mechanisms for coping with such fears. We certainly must admit that adolescents have little power or influence in our society. To teach them about a potential holocaust while they are incapable of doing anything about it is the cruelest of acts. Let's not burden young people with fears that can only create nightmares and anguish about an uncertain future.

B. The conduct of foreign and strategic policy is the job of our lawfully elected and appointed officials in government. A democracy works by entrusting leaders who keep the best interests of the nation always in the forefront. The inclusion of nuclear war-related curriculum into our schools would only tend to subvert this process and thus be un-American in nature. Nuclear war policies are the territory of highly trained specialists who do not need meddling from rank amateurs. It seems, as well, that most nuclear war curricula tend to advise against current policies and therefore serve only to cripple our leaders in efforts to reach a truly just weapons accord. Instead, let's teach patriotism in our schools and support the national leaders and goals.

C. The teaching of nuclear war concepts and information is imperative in a democracy such as ours. It was Thomas Jefferson who explained the crucial need for an "enlightened citizenry" if a democracy was to be truly representative. There is no more pressing an issue than nuclear war for all citizens to be informed on and vocal about. Only in this way can our elected representatives (including the president) know the public sentiment toward nuclear war and nuclear weapons. In fact, were there a more educated and enlightened public, such horrors as Hitler and the Holocaust might never have occurred. Citizenship is a responsibility as much as it is a privilege. To meet that responsibility, all citizens need a basic understanding of nuclear war. It is the role of the schools to provide instruction toward such understanding.

D. Values in America seem to be turned around. As a nation, we have tried to represent the best and most productive spirits that humankind is capable of. Now, it seems, we are standing for, or at least condoning, the potential destruction of humanity. Education on nuclear war, conflict and peace studies can start to bring America back to its life-affirming position among the nations of the world. By starting now in the teaching of these subjects, we will be forming a mass of individuals who will look to peaceful alternatives as a matter of course, who will seek resolution of conflicts rather than confrontation and who will understand that nuclear weapons are the opposite of all that humans should stand for. Nuclear war and peace-related education can stimulate the ethical imagination that peaceful leaders in the future will need. In a shorter time frame, such education would force current leaders to use the tactics of peace rather than the tactics of war.

E. The issue is not nuclear war; the issue is quality education

in our schools. Every year we read about declining SAT scores and kids graduating from high school functionally illiterate. These reports aren't some wild fantasy—they are true. Ask any personnel officer in private industry about the "product" of education today. Nuclear war education would just take more time away from the basics that kids need to be learning and practicing. What with career-ed, sex-ed, values-ed and a million other diversions, it's a wonder any kids can read at all. No, leave nuclear war education to the TV and newspapers. Schools don't need one more curriculum burden to bear.

F. Young people know about nuclear war whether it is taught in the schools or not. They hear about it on TV and when grown-ups gather to discuss the events of the world. Unfortunately, they have awareness, but little factual understanding. As a result, young people feel fear, frustration and a sense of powerlessness about a seemingly impending nuclear holocaust. Kids ask: "Who will care for me?" and "Why should I work towards a future when the world is going to be blown up?" It is only through education and discussion that such fears can be lessened and put into a more healthy context. Once the education and dialogue process is undertaken, young people can become empowered and begin to take a more active role in protecting their own futures. Accurate information, a chance to discuss fears and learning the skills necessary to insure a future will make a healthier and stronger young generation.

G. To state the obvious, today's youth are tomorrow's leaders. Nuclear war won't go away all by itself and, unfortunately, doesn't seem to be disappearing in the foreseeable future. As such, today's young people will most likely be making decisions about nuclear war as they reach voting age. We, as educators, need to prepare students to make decisions in the nuclear age. Decision making is a crucial skill that needs to be learned and practiced. This is especially true when it comes to the crucial and complicated issue of nuclear war. Such a curriculum will expose young people to the various positions on different nuclear war strategies and disarmament scenarios. It is not an extreme overstatement to say that the future of the world could depend on a well educated younger generation.

H. Nuclear war is the singularly most important issue of our age—or any age. Never before has the ability to destroy all human life and civilization been held in the hands of humans.

All other issues pail before this one issue. It is, in fact, the paramount moral issue facing humanity. Therefore, all people should be educated about the threat of nuclear war. This includes young children using appropriate strategies for all ages, K-12. Only when all of society understands the horrors of nuclear war will there ever be a ground swell to ban these antilife weapons. Perhaps H.G. Wells said it best: "Human history is a race between education and catastrophe."

I. When discussing nuclear war-related issues, there is one fact that must never be ignored: the Soviet menace and the effort of the communists to spread communism across the world. The Soviet Union poses a direct threat to the very core values of our society. Teaching about nuclear war could create a defeatist attitude in our young people and help cause a weakness in the necessary vigil against a communist take over. Instead of teaching about nuclear war, teach about the horrors of communism, the purges of Stalin and the rape of Afghanistan. Teach that deterrence to nuclear war is a strong defense. Then young and old will see that nuclear weapons stand as the alternate defense against the aggression inherent in Soviet society.

Individual Ranking of Statements

Instructions: Assign a number from 1 to 9 to each statement presented in this activity. Put a "1" next to the letter of the statement that sounds *most* like what you believe, a "9" next to the statement that sounds *least* like what you believe, and rank the other statements accordingly.

A _____

B _____

C _____

D _____

E _____

F _____

G _____

H _____

I _____

Small Group Ranking of Statements

Break into small groups to form a composite score for each statement.

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Individual Rankings</i>					<i>Total</i>
A	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
B	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
C	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
D	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
E	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
G	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
H	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Areas of Agreement (the noticeably high and low totals)

Areas of Disagreement (the totals in the middle)

Statements we can agree upon.

1. *Assumptions about students*

2. *Views on the nature of society*

3. *Views on the role of the school in teaching about nuclear war*

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC DEBATE:

A "FINDING COMMON GROUND" SYMPOSIUM

(Adapted with permission from Search for Common Ground, Washington, D.C.)

Level: Adult and Community Education

Objectives: Teachers, parents, and other adult citizens will :

- learn skills for reducing adversarial and polarizing stances in disagreements.
- experience dialogue through cooperation.

Time required: One hour or more.

Summary:

A "Finding Common Ground" symposium is a form of debate between two people that consciously looks for areas of agreement, common interests, and shared beliefs that unite them, as well as for areas of disagreement and divergence. It is a conversation whose aim is to make progress on issues of importance to both parties by reducing polarization.

It involves two speakers with opposing views, perhaps on a nuclear age issue. The format is different from that of the traditional debate. It is less adversarial and potentially more cooperative in nature. The format provides for audience involvement in looking for common ground.

The role of the moderator is crucial in this forum. During the symposium, the moderator listens very carefully and takes notes about either suggested or implied common ground in the statements of the two speakers. The moderator tries to keep the dialogue focused and uses these and other specific techniques to do so.

The full role of the moderator may be difficult to comprehend accurately solely from a written description. We suggest, therefore, that those interested in conducting this symposium consider using a 14-minute videotape of this "new" form of debate, made by Search for Common Ground, and available from ESR.

Activities:

How to Begin.

1. Identify one aspect of an issue, such as national security, U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control, or the strategic defense initiative ("star wars").
2. Choose a moderator and two "debaters."
3. The role of the moderator.

The moderator asks clarifying questions like:

- * What do you mean by ...?
- * Is this what you mean by ...?

The moderator tests common ground by asking:

- * Do you think you could agree on ...?

S/he also checks disagreements:

- * So you disagree on ...?

The moderator helps uncover underlying assumptions:

- * What is your assumption underlying that statement?

Format.

1. The moderator describes the format to the audience and charges the audience with the task of looking for common ground during the "debate." S/he might point out that underlying assumptions are often an area in which such common ground occurs.
2. Speaker A has approximately 10-15 minutes to present.
3. Speaker B restates Speaker A's views to Speaker A's satisfaction (approximately two minutes).
4. Speaker B presents (10-15 minutes).
5. Speaker A restates Speaker B's views to Speaker B's satisfaction (approximately two minutes).
6. Moderator asks speakers: Where do you agree? What is the common ground between your views? Moderator asks same questions of audience and checks responses with speakers. Areas of agreement are recorded on blackboard under Common Ground.
7. Moderator asks speakers: Where do you disagree? and records disagreements on blackboard (this section is shorter).
8. Moderator asks speakers: Given the areas of agreement, what kinds of projects could you possibly work on together? Moderator asks same question of audience.
9. Moderator asks speakers and audience for comments on the "debate."

EFFECTIVE DIALOGUE

Level: Adult and Community Education.

Objective: -To learn important principles underlying effective communication and negotiation.

-To develop skills for more effective dialogue and negotiation between people who disagree.

Time period: One hour.

Activity: Presentation of the negotiating principles in Getting to Yes by Roger Fisher and William Ury. These principles apply to disagreements between friends, family members, tenants and landlords, bosses and workers, partners, factions, and nations.

- * When arguing or negotiating, don't get locked into positions -- a statement of what you are willing or unwilling to accept or do. Arguing over positions tends to make both parties act defensively and lock themselves into their positions in order to "win," "be right," convince the other person, "save face."
- * Positions usually develop from underlying feelings, concerns, needs, hopes, fears. Share these emotions, and discover the other person's concerns. Discuss ways to resolve differences or conflicts.
- * Enter the discussion with the idea of working together to resolve differences; don't set up an adversary (us against you) relationship where each side becomes so defensive that neither pays attention to the other's legitimate interests.
- * Focus on how the issue affects you, not on what the other person does or on your judgment of him/her. ("I feel as if my opinions don't count," instead of, "You never listen to students' opinions...You're insensitive.")
- * Don't assume that you know what the other person thinks or intends to do. Try to see the situation as the other person sees it, feels it.
- * Don't have your solution figured out in advance; be open to working out the solution with the other person. Allow him/her to participate in the process. Also, don't assume that there is one best answer to the problem. Create/be open to several possible solutions before considering/deciding upon solutions.
- * When interests conflict, resolution should be based on some fair, objective standard (such as precedent, moral or legal standards, equal treatment.)

Follow-up: Participants pair up, choose a topic, and attempt to negotiate it applying these principles.

NOTE FOR ADULT AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION:

Many of the suggestions in the secondary and post-secondary sections, as well as those in the section headed "for every level," make ideal bases for adult audiences, sometimes as is, sometimes with minimum adaption. We encourage you to consult the other sections of this packet for many pertinent ideas.

Some of the best examples are:

- * the newspaper articles and news summaries
- * the film
- * the teacher education materials
- * the material on thinking about the Soviet Union
- * the bibliography

VII. Suggested Follow-up Resources

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

Some teachers may wish to follow-up these activities with further study or integrate the goals of the activities into a year-long curriculum. In this RESOURCES Section is full ordering information for resources cited in this packet, as well as for others we consider particularly valuable but could not use due to space limitations.

Teachers should also be certain to check carefully the COLLEGE / ADULT BIBLIOGRAPHY for many important titles necessary for background, balance, and adaptation to high school students.

CURRICULA AND OTHER TEACHING MATERIALS

Elementary

Creative Conflict Resolution: More Than 200 Activities for Keeping Peace in the Classroom. William J. Kreidler. \$10.95. Scott, Foresman, 1984. 216 pp. A teacher's guide filled with thoughtful, effective ideas for modeling nonviolent resolutions to everyday conflicts.

The Elementary School Package. Ground Zero Pairing Project, P.O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. \$9.95. A packet of teaching materials, with permission to reproduce them, that focuses on Soviet geography, people, and culture and includes map exercises, a comparison of native peoples of the U.S. and U.S.S.R., Russian children's stories, information on the home and school life of Soviet children, examples of children's art, and a lesson on the Cyrillic alphabet. Also available as an accompaniment is a 60-minute audio tape on Russian fairy tales and growing up in Russia (\$5.95.)

While ESR recommends the use of the information and traditional approach in Ground Zero's Soviet materials, we also believe that conventional approaches to information on the Soviet Union are insufficient in helping Americans to think about the Soviets in the new ways necessary in the nuclear age. Therefore, we suggest that elementary teachers use Ground Zero's Soviet materials along with ESR's approaches.

Taking Part - An Elementary Curriculum. (See K-12 Participation series)

Dialogue: A Teaching Guide to Nuclear Issues. K - 12. Shelley Berman and Greater Boston Educators for Social Responsibility. 1983. 250 pp. Available from National ESR. \$12.95 plus \$2.50 p/h. Written by teachers. A manual presenting different points of view on nuclear issues and suggesting how to introduce nuclear education into schools.

The Participation Series. Shelley Berman and Boston ESR. 1984. Available from National ESR. \$23.80 for all four curricula below, plus \$2.50 p/h, or \$7.00 each, plus p/h. The objective of this series is to help young people move beyond feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness about the future. The curricula present empowering activities for school, classroom, home, and community.

Taking Part - An Elementary Curriculum. (See Elementary)
Suggests classroom activities and structures that help young children identify issues and areas for responsible, empowered efforts.

Making History - A Social Studies Curriculum. For grades 7-12. Students learn to make informed decisions and to take action on them by choosing an issue/problem that they feel needs attention, researching it, and implementing it. The curriculum offers an opportunity to fuse the academic with the affective and to encourage social concern.

Toxic Waste - A Science Curriculum. For grades 7-12. Students examine the problems of toxic waste disposal in general, and then investigate these problems in their own community. The structure of this curriculum is especially valuable because it is a model for a wide variety of other issues besides toxic waste.

Elections - Secondary Teaching Activities. John Schultz and Hugh Taft-Morales. For grades 7-12. Thirty activities focused on the American democratic election process, with an emphasis on understanding diverse viewpoints on national security.

Perspectives: A Teaching Guide to Concepts of Peace. K - 12. Shelley Berman and Greater Boston Educators for Social Responsibility. 1983. 450 pp. Available from National ESR. \$12.95 plus \$2.50 p/h. Written by teachers. A teaching guide that challenges students to enlarge their concept of peace. Raises questions about conflict resolution; obstacles to peace (propaganda, images of the "enemy"); and the relationship between peace and justice. An important model for young people is the part of this guide that focuses on individuals and groups that have helped to create social change and work for peace.

Middle and High School

NOTE: Many of the resources listed in the COLLEGE / ADULT Bibliography are excellent for strong high school readers, either wholly or in part. We encourage users of this curriculum packet to study the annotations in that section for use at other levels.

Decisionmaking in a Nuclear Age. Roberta Snow, Coordinator. 1982. Available from National ESR. \$12.50, plus \$2.50 p/h. 3-12 week high school curriculum on how to think, not what to think. Encourages differing perspectives and skills for participation in the democratic process.

From Russia to USSR: A Narrative and Documentary History. Janet B. Vaillant and John Richards, eds. The Independent School Press, 51 River St., Wellesley Hills, MA 02181. 1985. Paper, 379 pp. A handsome and well-researched high school textbook, written by teachers under the organization of the Harvard Russian Research Center. Many of the best materials are edited from primary sources usually unavailable to the average citizen or teacher. As a result, students who use this text will be exposed to more diverse sources of information about the U.S.S.R. than usual and will be able to form a more complete picture of that country.

Hiroshima. John Hersey. Bantam Books, N.Y., 1968. 116 pp. Paper, \$2.50. Teacher's Guide, 1984. This piece of writing still serves as one of the best ways for beginning any unit or course on nuclear issues, from 7th grade - university / adult. A classic, Hiroshima is a moving account of the destruction wrought by the U.S. atomic bombing. Hersey weaves the stories of several people in order to show what it was like in Hiroshima before, during, and after the bombing. A "sequel" by Hersey, in the Fall, 1985 edition of Hiroshima, is written in the same powerful style as the original.

"Nuclear Arms Education in Secondary Schools." Wingspread Conference Report. February, 1985. The Stanley Foundation, 420 East Third St., Muscatine, IA 52761. \$1.00. Extremely valuable report of a seminar at Wingspread. Includes suggested guidelines for dealing with controversy; integrating nuclear arms issues into the established curriculum; and building a rationale for nuclear arms education.

The Secondary School Package. Ground Zero Pairing Project, P.O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. \$9.95. This resource is a companion packet to Ground Zero's elementary school one, reviewed in the Elementary Section. It includes pamphlets on Soviet religious life, teenage life, and the Russian language. Also included is the Ground Zero primer What About the Russians - and Nuclear War?, a curriculum guide, and an eight-page "Mini-Course." All of the materials can be duplicated for classroom use. As with Ground Zero's elementary resources, we recommend that teachers consider supplementing these high school materials with ESR's teaching approaches.

Understanding Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control. Teena Mayers. Arms Control, Research, Box 1355, Arlington, VA 22110. \$2.50. For grades 7 - adult. A simple, straight-forward, and factual text, this is a good primer for an introductory course. Its readability is enhanced by its visual presentation, format, and strong graphics: diagrams, charts, lists of acronyms, terminology, and significant policies.

"Unfreeze Arms Control" and "Nuclear Fantasies." The New Republic, April 14 and April 18, 1983, respectively. For grades 7 - adult. These two articles are clear, concise, thought-provoking, and non-simplistic arguments against a nuclear freeze. This anti-freeze argument gains credibility because it does not stem from ideology alone; the articles also grant the legitimacy of some political reasons for supporting a nuclear freeze, argue against the B-1 bomber and the MX, acknowledge the urgency of the nuclear threat, and encourage public nuclear debate as a "salutary exercise for a great democracy." A summary of these arguments would make an excellent basis for involving students or faculty in ESR's "methodological belief" pedagogy.

Teaching Conflict Resolution and Negotiation. Tom and Frances Bigda-Peyton. For grades 7-12. To be published later this year. Information from Boston ESR, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Learning About the Soviets: Selected Teaching Resources. ESR. 1985. Available from National ESR. \$3.00, plus \$2.50 p/h. 19 pp. A balanced, annotated bibliography that includes writings by Russians and Soviets themselves, articles, books, curricula, organizations, and audio-visuals.

Selected Curricula and Teaching Materials for Nuclear Age Education. ESR. 1985. Available from National ESR. \$4.00 plus \$2.50 p/h. Revised and updated in fall, 1985. Includes the best resources - elementary - college / adult - of new content and approaches on teaching for the nuclear age.

Resources for Education in Global Issues. Global Perspectives in Education, Inc., 218 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003. One of the most extensive listings of resources for teaching about global issues, such as human rights; science and technology; Africa, China, and Japan; hunger; national security; refugees; and development.

AUDIO-VISUALS AND SIMULATIONS

Common Ground: A Conflict Resolution Curriculum. Ground Zero Pairing Project, P. O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. \$9.95. This game uses examples from daily life as well as from politics as bases for finding "common ground" between "hawks" and "doves" on nuclear and other issues. Participation can be from one to five sessions.

Dialogue. Co-produced by The Documentary Guild and Gostelradio (Soviet Union). The Documentary Guild, Shearer Rd., Colrain, MA 01340. 50-

min. video documentary of three Americans and three Soviets from a 1982 two-week conference in Irkutsk, Siberia, co-sponsored by The Forum for U.S.-Soviet Dialogue (U.S.) and the Committee of Youth Organizations (USSR). The purpose of the film, made jointly by Americans and Soviets, is to alleviate some of the misperceptions that people in each country have of the other.

The film has five special interests for educators. First, in early December it will be shown on ITV during school time and then aired again on PBS that evening. (Watch for announcement of specific date.) Second, these showings will be simultaneous in the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Third, this showing will be followed by "A Spacebridge With Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner," a satellite link-up between audiences in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which will be broadcast simultaneously as well. Suggested classroom activities around this film can be found in this curriculum packet in the Follow-up Section. Fourth, after the broadcasting the film will be available permanently for rental from The Documentary Guild (See RESOURCES Section for ordering information. Finally, there will be a teacher's guide to accompany the film rental.

Let's Make a Deal. Ground Zero Resource Center, Ground Zero Pairing Project, P. O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. \$14.95. For high school - adult. This game is a simulated arms control negotiation. It follows the structure of the Geneva arms control negotiations between the U.S. and Soviet Union, in which participants play U.S. and Soviet advisors as well as leaders. Can be used from one to four days.

The Other Side. A Global Conflict Resolution Kit. Tom Snyder Productions, Inc. Available from National ESR. \$69.95, plus p/h for non-prepaid orders. A computer learning game that teaches peacemaking skills and cooperation in the classroom.

People-to-People. Slide tape and Videotape (available in all formats). 22 min. People-to-People, David Boyer, 9406 Locust Hill Rd., Bethesda, MD 20814. Purchase only, \$20.00. For middle school - adult. See section Special Follow-up Activities for description of this resource and accompanying lesson plans.

A Place to Begin: An Approach to Nuclear Education. ESR. A videotape presentation by ESR President Roberta Snow. 1/2" and 3/4" formats. Available from National ESR. Rental - \$25.00 ESR members/\$35.00 others; Purchase - \$50.00 ESR/\$70.00 others. An outstanding resource for teacher education by a leader in the field of nuclear age education. Combines actual classroom discussions with high school students and a process for helping teachers deal with critical thinking skills, students' fears, and reflective writing.

Summitry: A Role-Playing Game for the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Geneva. Ground Zero Pairing Project, P. O. Box 19049, Portland, OR 97219. \$4.95. For high school (strong readers, interested in politics) - adult. This game enables participants to role-play U.S. President Reagan and Soviet Party Secretary Gorbachev when they meet in November. It can be played in two sessions or, accompanied by other Ground Zero materials, serve as a lead-in to further study of the Soviet Union and to U.S. Soviet relations. It highlights major issues

of disagreement between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The game packet includes materials for the game leader; role-playing notes; and handouts. One particularly useful handout is a brief history of the genesis of and rationale for leader-to-leader negotiations; overview of meetings between U.S. and Soviet leaders; the motives for a Reagan-Gorbachev summit; the Soviet perspective; the record on U.S.-Soviet summit conferences; a chart of the balance in U.S.-Soviet strategic of forces; and a glossary.

There's a Nuclear War Going On Inside Me. Psychiatrist Eric Chivian and ESR President Roberta Snow. 26-min. color videotape, all formats. Available from National ESR. Rental - \$35.00 ESR members/\$45.00 others. Explores 1st - 9th grade students' thoughts about nuclear war and weapons in 1982. Some audiences feel that these attitudes may no longer be representative and that some of the students may have been "playing to the camera." Appropriate for showing to educators and parents.

What Soviet Children Are Saying About Nuclear Weapons. 20-min. color videotape, 1/2" and 3/4". Available from National ESR. Rental - \$35.00 ESR members/\$45.00 others. No purchase. Interviews with Soviet children by American psychiatric researchers, summer, 1983. The interviews focus on the knowledge, thoughts, and feelings of Soviet young people about nuclear war and weapons. The videotape is an excellent discussion starter for students (grades 3 - University), teachers, parents, PTAs, school boards, and the like.

Recommended to accompany this videotape is the teacher's guide **Listening to Children: Soviet and American Voices.** Lucile Burt. ESR. 1984. \$5.00, plus \$2.50 p/h. 60 pp. Available from National ESR. Filled with ideas for using both this videotape and "There's a Nuclear War Going on Inside Me."

SPECIAL

Impact of the Threat of Nuclear War on Children and Adolescents: Proceedings of an International Research Symposium. International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Fourth Congress, Helsinki-Espoo, Finland. 1984. Available from IPPNW, 225 Longwood Ave., Boston, MA 02115. 217 pp. \$15.00. This report, presented as a scientific inquiry and benefiting from international editors and contributors, inquires into the "pre-explosion" psychological and social effects on young people around the world of living with the nuclear threat. The editors acknowledge that such inquiry is subtle, hard to separate from other factors, and difficult to quantify.

Part I contains theoretical papers. Of particular interest to educators may be the history of "research" in this area by U.S. psychiatrist John Mack and discussions of the difficulties and methodological problems in such research. Most of Part II is descriptive questionnaire studies, performed in Belgium, Canada, Finland, New Zealand, Sweden, the U.S., and the U.S.S.R. One "strikingly similar" finding is that "Large proportions of young people in the several countries studied see nuclear war as inevitable in their lifetimes..." Also important for teachers and parents is the indication that "the young people who worry most about nuclear war are also the most optimistic that it can be prevented."

Encompassing recent critiques of studies about the impact of the nuclear threat on young people; stressing problematical areas in these studies; exercising caution in tone and language, as well as in content; drawing only tentative conclusions; and suggesting responsible directions for further study; all these elements help this report to put into a sorely needed perspective the issue of the relationship between young people and the nuclear threat.

Why Nuclear Education? A Sourcebook for Educators and Parents. ESR. 1985. \$5.00, plus \$2.50 p/h. 111 pp. Available from National ESR. This resource contains a rationale for and common concerns about nuclear age education; summaries about the impact of the nuclear threat on young people; resolutions by national organizations supporting the teaching of nuclear issues in schools; and a brief bibliography of teaching resources.

BACKGROUND READING

(See articles following.)

Rethinking Nuclear War

Only 10 years ago, many scientists concluded that the planet could survive a major nuclear war, recovering within a decade. That judgment is now sharply questioned by new interest in the effects of nuclear explosions on the world's climate, cities and agriculture. The Reagan Administration contends that the debate is irrelevant to policy, which is based on the premise that nuclear weapons must never be used. Still, governments that threaten — and are threatened by — nuclear retaliation cannot be indifferent to knowledge of the consequences if deterrence fails.

Smoke, which was entirely neglected in earlier assessments, is the most prominent feature in the emerging portraits of nuclear war. That is because cities are laden with combustibles, like fuel, plastics and asphalt, that create a thick black smoke when burned. If enough smoke ever gets high enough to escape being washed down by rain, a black pall would spread out and enshroud much of the Northern Hemisphere.

Climatologists, employing computer models, are still only guessing what the smoke would do. The latest calculations, reported by a committee of the International Council of Scientific Unions, reiterate that the smoke from a major nuclear war could blot out nine-tenths of the sunlight. The clouds would immediately reduce land temperatures by some 30 degrees, and might linger for a year or so. The committee calculates that this would disrupt agriculture in the Northern Hemisphere and the monsoon season in Asia, causing widespread crop failures and famine.

These are not certain predictions, and the dust of this debate has not settled. But there seems at

present a solid chance that a nuclear war, besides killing hundreds of millions immediately, could be followed by a nuclear winter that would kill hundreds of millions more.

Even without a nuclear winter, re-examination suggests that the direct consequences of nuclear war would be no less terrible. According to studies presented last week at the Institute of Medicine in Washington, both the radiation and fire from nuclear explosions have been underestimated. Reappraisal of the deaths in Hiroshima finds that fallout may be a greater danger than anyone knew; the lethal radiation level for humans seems to be much lower than had been thought.

Another recalculation concerns the effect on cities. Government estimates of the casualties from nuclear explosions over cities are apparently based on the blast effect, as calculated from deaths in Hiroshima. But the 1945 bomb was what would now be considered a mere tactical weapon. A modern warhead exploded over a city would probably ignite raging fires, driven by hurricane-force winds and sweeping far beyond the zone of lethal blast. These firestorms might claim four times as many lives as those taken by flash and blast.

These judgments of nuclear effects carry many possible implications for nuclear strategy. But the lesson will not have been learned if strategists merely reallocate their targets and change the design of warheads.

The main message is that deterrence must not be allowed to fail, and long before any meaningful defense can be achieved, the arsenals held for retaliation need to be reduced to the smallest possible size. Forcing governments to look nuclear weapons in the face may be the best way to sicken their appetite for building ever more.

VIII. Special Follow-up Activities

DAYS OF DIALOGUE, 1985

DIALOGUE / SPACEBRIDGE

A 50-minute Video Documentary

IMPORTANT NOTE: This film has five special interests for educators. First, in early December it will be shown on ITV during school time and then aired again that evening on PBS. (Watch for announcement of specific date.) Second, it will be televised simultaneously in the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Third, the film will be followed by "A Spacebridge With Phil Donahue and Vladimir Posner," a satellite link-up between audiences in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, which will be broadcast simultaneously as well. Fourth, after the television presentation, the film will be available for rental from The Documentary Guild (See RESOURCES: AUDIO-VISUALS for ordering and other information.) Finally, there will be a teacher's guide to accompany the film rental.

Level: High School - Adult

Objectives: The audience will:

- Experience non-stereotyped portraits of Soviets.
- View a more complete picture of the Soviet Union.
- Ponder the effectiveness of citizen diplomacy.
- See an example of "common ground."

Materials required: A television set, if you choose to have students watch the broadcast over ITV during school time.

Optional: Xeroxed copies of teachers' comments below.

Advance Teacher Preparation:

Determine the date of the broadcast of *Dialogue*. It will be shown over ITV during the day and again the same evening on PBS.

Decide if you wish to assign students to watch the evening telecast as homework or to use class time for the viewing.

See also #4b.

Optional Activity 1.

Following are some comments about the video *Dialogue* from teachers in a summer, 1985 teacher training program. (Some of the topics in this program were "Images of the Enemy" and "How to Deal With

Personal Bias in Teaching Controversial Issues.") The remarks below could be dittoed and given to students either as a point of departure or to compare with their own reactions.

"The people were compelling."

"I plan to use this video in Juneau, Alaska."

"I feel once again that it is more complicated than just having dinner with some Soviets, but that certainly is a good place to start."

"I especially enjoyed the scenes of interactions and of places, particularly Siberia. The end is especially moving."

"A plus of the film is that it looks for the positive ground between countries."

"Too much of the film was filled up with endlessly repeated platitudes that won't take us very far. It is mostly too simplistic, if not propagandistic."

"The film points out that it is easy to get along in the areas of children and family; a little more difficult to talk about freedom; and difficult to discuss issues like nuclear arms and nuclear war."

Activity 2. Obstacles to Dialogue.

- a. Generate a list of what might get in the way of two people or nations "dialoguing" or finding common ground on an issue/problem.
- b. The chart of the differences between an argument and a discussion/dialogue, which accompanies the lesson on the film Is It Always Right to be Right?, can be used for discussion after this video.
- c. Look at some of the statements in the "Summary of Recent Events Leading up to the Summit" for examples of the following obstacles:
 - 1) A common obstacle to dialogue or finding common ground is when either or both parties set up a negative atmosphere. Can you find any instances of this barrier in these statements?
 - 2) Role-play each country's leader and ask: If you wanted to promote a positive atmosphere for cooperation and dialogue for a summit, what kind of statements might you have made?
 - 3) Casting blame is a classic barrier to finding common ground. Are there any instances of this factor in these statements?
 - 4) Are there any examples of name calling?
 - 5) Are there instances of "red flag" words?"
 - 6) Are there any examples in the video of these obstacles?

Activity 3. (This activity is from **Teaching Conflict Resolution and Negotiation** by Tom and Frances Bigda-Peyton. See RESOURCES Section for complete information.) The outline of negotiating principles from Roger Fisher's book Getting to Yes - in the Adult Education Section of this curriculum packet - can serve as the basis for a negotiation process that is designed to achieve a mutually satisfying resolution - "win/win." In other words, dialogue.

Fisher stresses the importance of understanding one's interests when negotiating. Interests refer to the reasons why someone wants a specific outcome--their needs, desires, concerns, and fears. People usually have multiple interests in any given situation. Interests are frequently related to basic human needs: for example, the need for companionship, recognition, security, approval, achievement, etc.

PEOPLE TO PEOPLE

NOTE: This resource is similar in aim to Dialogue, above. If you use Dialogue with your students and are pleased with their learning, you might want to follow it up with People-to-People. Or, if you are not able to organize your class to view Dialogue, then you may find that People-to-People is successful in addressing similar concepts.

Ordering information about this resource can be found in SUGGESTED RESOURCES: AUDIO-VISUALS.

Level: Middle School - Adult.

Objectives. The audience will:

- consider the value of people to people diplomacy
- explore the effectiveness of communication methods in the tape
- compare the portraits in the tape with their previous stereotypes
- examine aspects of their view of the Soviet Union

Materials required: Depending upon whether you use the slide tape or the videotape, you will need the appropriate machine.

Advance Teacher Preparation: Teachers are advised to preview this resource. See also the last suggestion for preparation in Dialogue above.

Description.

People-to-People is a sensitive and poignant plea, artistically done, for citizens' diplomacy. It documents a 1983 people-to-people "exchange" between the sister cities of Seattle and Tashkent, USSR, the host city. It is an excellent resource for introducing a discussion with middle and high school students about problems and opportunities for finding common ground between the people of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It can be used as an introduction for a multi-day unit or as the basis for a one class period discussion. Viewing this tape raises important questions about whether or not it helps or hinders government diplomacy for private individuals to engage in citizen diplomacy and suggests what individuals can do to achieve greater understanding of one another's cultures.

Activities:

The activities, exercises, and discussion questions suggested for the video documentary Dialogue (above) are appropriate with slight adaptation for People to People as well. For this resource, however, as opposed to Dialogue, we suggest emphasizing the concepts of citizen diplomacy and stereotypes, and deemphasizing conflict resolution and negotiation.

- a. Choose a topic that provides conflict.
- b. Prepare for negotiation by identifying and clarifying positions and interests: Each party answers specifically: What do I want? Why do I want this?
- c. Present interests and positions and listen. Talk in specific and concrete terms, and avoid name calling and insulting the other party.
- d. Brainstorm as many solutions as possible. Avoid judging suggestions.
- e. Eliminate solutions unacceptable to either party.
- f. Select a solution that best meets the needs of both people.

Activity 4: Discussion Questions.

- a. How valuable is citizen diplomacy in general? In improving the U.S.-Soviet relationship? Does it have a major role to play in U.S.-Soviet relations?
- b. What stereotypes did you hold of Soviet people before viewing this film? (This would be an effective exercise to use BEFORE an audience sees this resource, even several days before.)
- c. Have any of your views changed as a result of viewing this film?
- d. Compare the ways in which people in the film communicate with each other to the ways that Reagan and Gorbachev communicated before the actual summit. (See section on Reagan - Gorbachev Summit: Summary of Preceding Events.)
- e. What do you think people can do, both individually and together, to improve understanding between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.?

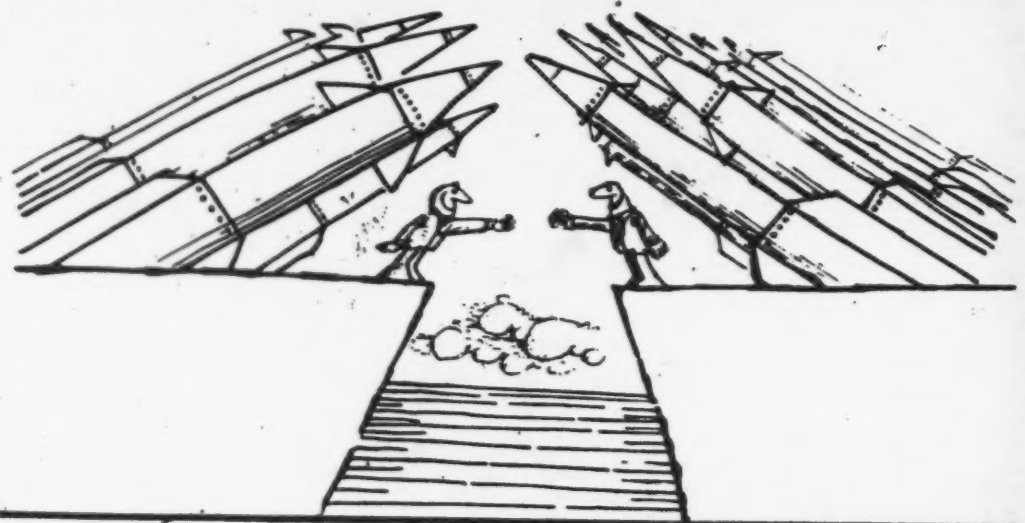
Hope For the Summit

By Gerard C. Smith
and Paul C. Warnke

WASHINGTON — Ronald Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev meet for the first time in November, the result could easily be disappointing — either outright failure and recrimination or cosmetic agreements on minor issues that mask the absence of any real progress. Yet the President could also do better than just a "get acquainted" session. Whether by inadvertence or design, there is now an opportunity for a major breakthrough.

Our own experience as negotiators indicates that the circumstances most conducive to genuine agreement exist when both sides need an agreement — when both sides are and should be concerned about what will happen in the absence of a deal. That is now the situation.

Gerard C. Smith served as President Nixon's chief negotiator for the first strategic arms limitation accord and the antiballistic missile treaty. Paul C. Warnke served as President Carter's chief negotiator for the second strategic arms limitation accord.



The Soviet Union would like to forestall President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative; we Americans would like the Russians to reduce significantly their capabilities in land-based missile launchers and warheads. These are the makings of an agreement of historic proportions.

But relations between the superpowers are such today that there will be no agreement without determined leadership by the heads of both nations. In their hands is the opportunity for success, and on their shoulders must also rest the enormous consequences of failure.

A successful summit meeting is probably the only way today to reduce the threat of nuclear war. The negotiators at Geneva have reached a genuine impasse — one made all the more intractable by opponents of

arms control in each Government. In this situation, our personal experience convinces us that the obstacles to agreement can be removed only by a top-level exercise of political will.

Both leaders should remember, as a precedent, the summit meeting of November 1974, when Gerald R. Ford and Leonid I. Brezhnev met at Vladivostok. After two years of frustrating negotiations by subordinates, these leaders faced up to the impasse of the day and reached a critical understanding that paved the way for a new arms control agreement.

Today, the United States insists on a totally free hand for the Strategic Defense Initiative. Yet virtually every observer outside the Administration agrees that there is no chance whatsoever that we can do as we

please about strategic missile defenses and at the same time expect the Soviet Union to cut back substantially on its offensive missiles.

Mr. Gorbachev recently moved away from the original, indefensible Soviet position that no research at all should be permitted on strategic defenses. Instead, he suggested that laboratory research may be pursued but that prototype and field testing should not be permitted.

This set the stage for a breakthrough that would allow President Reagan to pursue his long-term goal of developing a defensive nuclear shield, while also negotiating major reductions in offensive arms.

Such a breakthrough would require the President to recognize that the kind of scientific inquiry necessary to determine whether or not his vision is feasible will take many years. Yet to pursue advanced stages of testing and development now would block reductions in offensive arms that could be negotiated in the short term. Such testing would also be inconsistent with the antiballistic missile treaty of 1972, which we strongly believe should be reaffirmed at the summit meeting.

Defensive technologies now in sight cannot conceivably provide the nuclear shield that President Reagan seeks. But if developed and tested, even these limited technologies would almost certainly preclude the possibility of a new arms agreement and drive the nuclear arms race to an even higher level.

The last five American Presidents have negotiated arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. It is time for President Reagan to end five years of dangerous stagnation. If the last 25 years offer one clear lesson, it is that the world becomes a safer place only when an American President exercises his great influence to that end. □

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Los Angeles Times

Wednesday, May 29, 1985

Americans and Soviets *Can* Live in Peace

By JOHN MARKS and DAVID LANDAU

President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev have agreed to hold a summit meeting, but they cannot seem to set a date for it. The two men have each said that they want better relations with the other, but American-Soviet tensions remain high.

Consider the possibility that Reagan and Gorbachev might break the deadlock by issuing a statement along the following lines:

"We recognize that our two nations possess awesome power and that we hold in our hands not just our own fates but the lives of everyone on the planet as well. We share a single paramount concern, which is that our two nations must never go to war against each other. We must ensure that no crisis anywhere, nor the use of a nuclear weapon by a third power, nor an accident or misunderstanding, will lead to the outbreak of war between us.

"We affirm that we share other common interests. We both wish to keep nuclear weapons out of the hands of third parties. We want to spare our economies from unnecessary military buildup. We have a joint interest in solving such global problems as hunger, poverty and environmental threats.

"We recognize that relations between our countries have been marked by grave mistrust and by the threat of war. Our political systems differ greatly. Our two countries oppose each other in many ways and in many places. We recognize that intense competition and mistrust will be present in our relations for years to come. Even so, we pledge—both for the good of our own nations and for the sake of humanity—that we are committed to avoiding war and to pursuing cooperation in areas where we share goals.

"We resolve, therefore, that henceforth our common interests will take precedence over our disagreements; and that we will not allow the rivalry between us to threaten global destruction."

This statement is naive, perhaps. Yet it almost certainly reflects what most people in both the United States and the Soviet Union would like to see happen.

Such a joint declaration does not ask either nation to weaken its defense, to condone the other's actions or to give ground. It simply asserts that preventing war must be the predominant motive in U.S. and Soviet policy.

There is a precedent for such a sweeping turnaround: the 1972 breakthrough in U.S.-Chinese relations. A Republican President, Richard M. Nixon, and the leaders of a major communist power overturned a quarter of a century of enmity. True, America's

rivalry with the Soviets is strategically much more critical than the rivalry with China ever was; still, bad feelings between Americans and Chinese had been as entrenched, as violent and even, at times, as dangerous as those between Americans and Soviets have ever been.

The instrument of Sino-American rapprochement was the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972. A true "umbrella" agreement, it said, in essence, that policy disagreements would not be allowed to prevent good relations, and it enabled the United States and China to defuse their conflict over Taiwan—an ulcerous problem that had almost led to war. Yet neither country had to renounce fundamental beliefs or to endanger its security. The Shanghai Communiqué is an excellent model for the kind of joint agreement on which Reagan and Gorbachev might agree.

What would be the actual benefit of an "umbrella" statement by U.S. and Soviet leaders?

It could give new life to the already moribund arms talks; it could prevent the escalation of regional conflicts (while, admittedly, not resolving those conflicts); it could limit the spread of nuclear arms; it could lead to joint action on global problems; at no cost to strategic deterrence it would reaffirm diplomacy as the principal medium of superpower relations. In short, it could change the very framework of U.S.-Soviet relations.

How could this be enforced?

Nothing between the Americans and the Soviets can be enforced today. Superpower relations take place in a barren landscape where no guarantees exist. Some Americans say, "You can't trust the Russians," and similar sentiments are echoed about us in the Soviet Union.

Trust is not the issue. The only sure bets between the superpowers are those that are based on common interest. Such cooperative possibilities must be sought, carefully discussed and actively enhanced. If these common interests are not developed, relations will almost certainly remain close to the nuclear flashpoint. If they are developed, a new relationship may evolve, as happened with the United States and China.

The way to begin the process is for Reagan and Gorbachev to state their commitment to a new framework of relations, and then have their subordinates work out the details.

John Marks is the director of Search for Common Ground, an organization that develops innovative approaches to international issues. David Landau is the author of "Kissinger: The Uses of Power" (Houghton 1972). Both are based in Washington.

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